Y Cymmrodor.

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THE SOUTH-WEST VIEW OF ST. DOGMAEL'S PRIORY IN 1740, after Buck.

Y Cymmrodor.

Vol. XXVII. "Cared doeth yr encilion." 1917.

The Benedictine Abbey of St. Mary at St. Dogmaels.

By HERBERT M. VAUGHAN, F.S.A.,

Member of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion.

History.—No doubt there existed at or near the present St. Dogmaels, or Llandůdoch, in pre-Norman times, a small Celtic monastic foundation which derived its name from Dogfael, the great-grandson of Cunedda Wledig, who flourished in the fifth century.[1] This former Celtic house, however, did not occupy the site of the later Benedictine Abbey of Robert Fitz Martin, son and heir of Martin, commonly named Martin de Tours, the original conqueror and grantee of the lordship of Cemaes, or Kemeys. Of this Martin the Elder we have it on the authority of Mr. Horace Round, our leading mediæval historian, that "nothing is really known about him" beyond the circumstance of this conquest and grant of land in Dyfed. Nevertheless, Mr. Round suggests that he may be identical with the "Martinus de Wales" whose name appears first in the foundation charter of Totnes priory in Devon, which shire was the home of this powerful family. In any case, it was the son and heir of this knight, Robert Fitz Martin, second lord of Cemaes,

[1] See *Arch. Camb. Journal,* October 1864, p. 302. Article by the Rev. Henry Vincent. Also *West Wales Hist. Records,* vol. iii, p. 280.

acting probably under the expressed wish of his late father and certainly with the warm approval of his mother, who in 1113 founded a priory of French monks at St. Dogmaels, which five years later he enlarged and raised to the rank of an abbey dedicated to the Blessed Virgin.

". . . . . . A certain Robert of most noble birth approached a holy man beyond the seas and taking with him thirteen of his disciples passed through Norman and English territories and reaching the farthest limits of the land of Wales on the coast of the Irish sea close to the river Teifi he established first indeed a cell but afterwards with an equal number of monks together with an Abbot at their request as we have mentioned he established a Monastery fitted with all appurtenances."[1]

Now "the holy man beyond the seas" was undoubtedly the Blessed Bernard of Abbeville, who, according to the *Petits Bollandistes,* was born in 1046 and died on April 14th, 1116. This St. Bernard founded in or about 1113 a community or reformed Order under the Benedictine rule at Tiron au Perche near Chartres. Special points of discipline marked this new Order, a salient feature being the insistence on skilled labour by the monks themselves for the support of the new foundation. They were to be painters, carvers, joiners, smiths, etc. Their habit was at first a light grey, but was later changed to black. The Order was started under favourable auspices in France, and quickly attracted the attention of King Henry I of England, who probably himself recommended the new Order to Robert Fitz Martin. Only this one house at St. Dogmaels, however, seems to have been founded in England and Wales, though four were founded in Scotland under royal patronage. The Order of Tironian Bene-

[1] J. H. Round, *Calendar of Documents of France*, Preface, p. xxxv.

dictines continued to exist in France until the close of the seventeenth century.[1]

The date of Robert Fitz Martin's first visit to the newly founded house of the Blessed Bernard of Abbeville at Tiron was apparently the year 1113, and the date of his second visit 1118, two years after the death of the Saint. On the first occasion Robert brought over thirteen of these Tironian monks to St. Dogmaels, and with that number founded a priory as a cell, or subsidiary house to the mother abbey of Tiron; whilst five years later he again crossed to France and returned with an additional thirteen monks from Tiron, whom he also installed at St. Dogmaels with an abbot at their head, one Fulchard by name. Henceforth St. Dogmaels ranked as an independent house, no doubt in close inter-communication with the parent abbey of Tiron during the whole period of its existence, but in no wise subordinate to it. That this abbey was founded as such in or about the year 1118 is proved by the two facts that at the consecration of Abbot Fulchard there was present Bernard, bishop of St. Davids, who was only elected in 1115; and that the original confirmation of the grant by Henry I includes the name of Prince William, the English king's heir, who was drowned in the sinking of the White Ship on November 28th, 1120.[2] The hitherto usually accepted date of September 1126 for the abbey's original charter, which is given by Dugdale, is therefore eight years too late.

In this pious and munificent foundation at St. Dogmaels, Robert Fitz Martin was also generously aided by his wife, Maud Peverel, as well as by his mother, Geva,[3]

[1] Information obtained from the Rev. Abbot F. T. Beigh, O.S.B.

[2] *Cartulary of the Abbey of the Holy Trinity of Tiron*, vol. i, p. 41.

[3] She is so styled in one of the charters. I suggest the name is an abbreviated form of *Genevieva*, the patron saint of Paris.

the widow of the first lord of Cemaes, and such being the case there seems no reason to discredit the popular tradition that both parents of Robert Fitz Martin, as well as himself and his wife Maud, were buried "*in medio choro*" of the newly erected church.

Of the many possessions of the Abbey we need only state here that they included the manor of St. Dogmaels, which extended from the little stream called Breuan or Piliau[1] to the mouth of the Teifi; the chapelries of St. Dogmaels, Llantood, Monington, Moylgrove, Eglwyswrw, Bayvil, Maenclochog, Monachlog-du, Fishguard and Llandeilo; the isle and subsidiary priory of Caldey (Geva's gift); the rich cell of Pill Priory on Milford Haven; and the valuable manor of Rattrey in South Devon, which English estate was retained by the Abbey till its dissolution. Of the two cells, Caldey paid the annual sum of £5 10*s.* 11*d.* to the Abbey, and Pill £9 6*s.* 8*d.* This last mentioned cell was founded towards the close of the twelfth century by the de la Roche family, and had a considerable private revenue of its own. In addition to Caldey and Pill, the Abbey also owned the small Tironian cell of Glascareg in co. Wexford, which paid annually to the mother house £3 6*s.* 8*d.*, though the last abbot of St. Dogmaels declared to the Royal commissioners in 1534 that his Abbey had received no payment from this Irish source for forty years past.

The record of the Abbey's existence of over four centuries seems on the whole to have been prosperous and uneventful, if we except the successful raid carried out by Scandinavian pirates at the estuary of the Teifi in 1138, when the newly founded Benedictine Abbey suffered considerably. Of its many abbots the names of eleven only

[1] This stream flows into the Teifi at Castell Sidan, a little to the east of Cardigan station.

have been preserved for us, and none of these rose to any public eminence. In 1188 the celebrated Gerald de Barri with Archbishop Baldwin spent a night here as the guests of Prince Rhys during the English Primate's famous Itinerary of the Welsh sees. At the close of the twelfth century one Walter, a cousin of Gerald's and a rival candidate for the vacant bishopric of St. Davids, was abbot of St. Dogmaels. Gerald speaks of this man as "an illiterate monk who could not read his Psalter"; but then the versatile historian was rarely justified in his sweeping charges of vice or incompetence against those who opposed his will. That the Abbey was well endowed and kept in good repair is evident from the surviving architectural fragments, which go to prove there were constant embellishment and rebuilding in progress here during four hundred years. In July 1504, during a visitation of the deanery of Cemaes, Dom. Lewis, lord abbot of St. Dogmaels, as well as the priors of Pill and Caldey, were interrogated as to the condition of their houses, and stated in their replies (as one would naturally expect!) that "all the brethren were of good and honest conversation and obedient at their free will".[1]

Thirty years later and we have the dismal story of the suppression of the Abbey in 1534. This matter is clearly set forth in a well-preserved document acknowledging the Royal Supremacy, which is now in the Record Office of London.[2] This deed of surrender is signed by the last Abbot, William Hire (to whom an annual pension of twenty marks was subsequently granted) and by eight of his monks. It is sealed with the abbatial seal, elliptical in form and representing the Virgin and Child seated be-

[1] *Registers of the Archbishopric of Canterbury*, Warham, f. 228.

[2] A Facsimile of this document is included in Mrs. Pritchard's volume, *The History of St. Dogmael's Abbey* (1907).

neath a gothic canopy and bearing on its bordure the legend, "S. COMUNE. SANTI. DOG[MAE]LIS. DE. KEMMEYS."

It did not take long to disperse the estates of the Abbey whose revenue is variously stated at figures which in one instance are put so low as £68 and in another place are described as amounting so high as £120 and over, so that probably the commonly quoted rental of £96 derived from the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* may be accepted as fairly correct. Of the Pembrokeshire estates it is sufficient here to mention that the manor of St. Dogmaels and the monastic buildings and grounds, otherwise called the Llandre, were, together with Caldey Island, acquired by purchase from the King in 1543 by John Bradshaw of Presteign for the sum of £512 odd.[1] This grant did not, however, include the patronage of the parish church of St. Thomas at St. Dogmaels, and its chapelries of Llantood and Monington which remained with the Crown.

In all probability large portions of the abbey were now pulled down and utilized for the building of the Bradshaw manor house, which remained the residence of this family for over a hundred years. The Bradshaws whose early pedigree is given in Lewys Dwnn's *Visitations* (vol. i, p. 257) are mentioned in local annals for some four or five generations, one of them, John Bradshaw, being High Sheriff of Pembrokeshire in 1571. This man, who was either the son or the grandson of the original purchaser from the Crown, is almost certainly the John Bradshaw whose monumental slab still exists.[2] He died in 1588,[3] and was

[1] *West Wales Hist. Trans.*, vol. iii, p. 281.

[2] The full inscription on the stone is given by most writers. All however that is now left are the words:

IOHANNE | ARMIGER | O DIE M | NI 1588.

[3] Dean Allen, *High Sheriffs of Pembrokeshire*, p. 13.

apparently father of William Bradshaw, M.P. for Cardigan Borough in 1603. Other members of this family appear in local history, including Captains Edmund and John Bradshaw who were amongst the captured Royalist Officers in the garrison of Pill Fort in 1643[1] This event was shortly before the sale of the manor of St. Dogmaels by the Bradshaws to David Parry of Neuadd-Trefawr, near Cardigan. These Parrys held the manor for over two centuries but do not seem to have resided within the abbey precincts, where the old Bradshaw manor house was probably allowed to fall to decay, so that its actual site is now a matter for conjecture. In 1862 the ultimate heir of these Parrys, David K. W. Webley-Parry, sold this family estate, the farm of Pentood near the mouth of the Piliau and the foreshore rights of the manor being purchased by David Davies of Castle Green, Cardigan; whilst the farms of Manian-fawr, Manian-fach, Poppit House and Ysgyborwen, whose names occur often in lists of the monastic property, were sold to Thomas Harman Brenchley, of Glaneirw.

Ruins.—It is of course certain that large portions of the abbey were demolished to erect the Bradshaw residence, and it is also probable that much material was filched for building purposes in the village. On the whole, therefore, it is remarkable that so much of the Abbey should survive to-day, for the ruins at St. Dogmaels are more extensive and present greater features of architectural interest than do the existing monastic remains at Strata Florida, Talley, Cwmhir, Haverfordwest or Whitland. The earliest view of the abbey we possess is that drawn by Buck in 1740 (facing p. 1). This drawing, which is well executed, is taken from the south-west, and shows most of the salient features of the present time, with the

[1] J. R. Phillips, *Civil War in Wales and the Marches*, vol. ii, p. 152.

exception of some tall ruins on the north side of the Choir that have since totally disappeared. This plan, made two centuries after the Dissolution, is particularly valuable to us, being evidently the product of a skilled draftsman, whereas the various drawings in the illustrated books that appeared in the early part of the nineteenth century are often mere picturesque sketches, and consequently somewhat misleading. This is especially true of Hassall's "Chapel of St. Dogmael's Abbey", which gives a most incorrect impression of the interior of the north transept. Gastineau's drawing in "Wales Illustrated"[1] of the exterior of this transept is better, and better still is Hughes's charming little cut of the same subject in his "Beauties of Cambria". Both of these views are so planned as to introduce in the foreground the ancient gnarled yew tree which still flourishes opposite the porch of the present parish church of St. Thomas. Of descriptions of the Abbey ruins we possess practically nothing till the visit of the Cambrian Archæological Association to Cardigan in August 1859 at a time when a really able and enthusiastic antiquary, the Rev. Henry James Vincent, was vicar of St. Dogmaels. Here again however we are doomed to disappointment, for although the learned Vicar read aloud a paper on the Abbey at one of the public meetings, his manuscript was for some reason or other never printed in the *Arch. Camb. Journal*, although its publication was promised by the Editor. In the summer of 1865 Mr. Vincent died, and in the subsequent notice recording his death, allusion is again made to his MS. history of the Abbey "which he had just completed and which was now being arranged for publication in the *Journal* of the Association". But the promised monograph never

[1] Both Hassall's and Gastineau's sketches are reproduced in Mrs. Pritchard's work.



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ST. DOGMAEL'S. EXTERIOR VIEW OF NORTH-WEST PORTAL OF NAVE.

(Sketched by Miss Vida Morris, September 1916.)

appeared, and the manuscript itself seems to have been lost, though how and when does not transpire:

"Suddenly, as rare things will, it vanished."

Fortunately, however, a short address on the Abbey ruins in 1859 by Mr. Talbot Bury, an antiquary of some standing, has been preserved in the *Arch. Camb. Journal* for that year, and this account is invaluable to us at the present day. Mr. Bury describes the ruins carefully, and though some of his deductions appear to me erroneous, yet it is evident he understood his subject. Perhaps the most important statement in this brief lecture is Mr. Bury's detailed account of a building within the Abbey precincts which unhappily no longer exists. This is described as standing about 150 feet east of the so-called Refectory (of which I shall speak presently) and is mentioned by Mr. Bury as "being in a more perfect condition than any other part of the ruins. It is about 38 feet long by 20½ feet wide, but it is not easy to determine its character. The roof is of stone vaulted in the form of a pointed arch but without ribs, and has been ingeniously constructed to avoid all outward thrust of the walls . . . . It had recesses in the south wall apparently occupied by sedilia with the remains of a piscina. The building seems to be of an earlier date than the church, and its construction is of better masonry, exhibiting alternate rows of dark and light stones. Over the panel of the east window is a corbel supported by an angel".

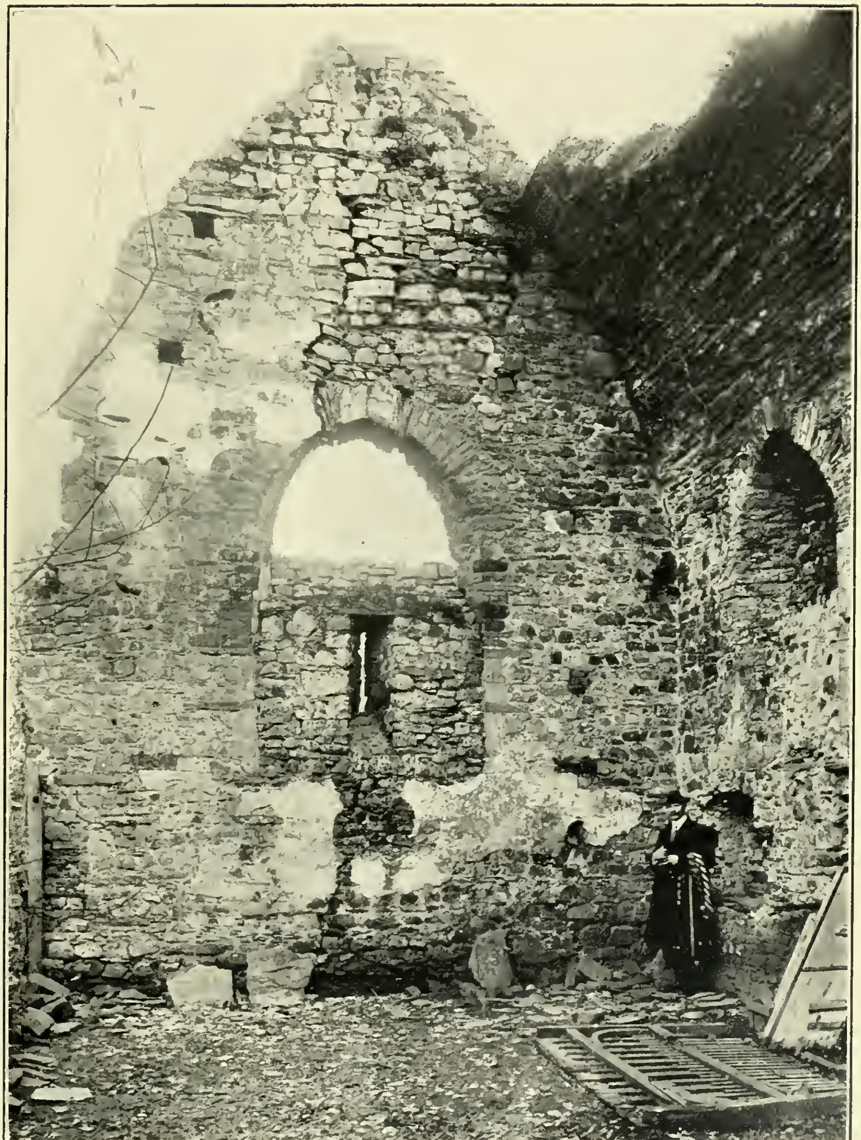
I am of opinion myself that this building was the Chapter House, but in any case all speculation is useless, as about seven years later, shortly after Mr. Vincent's death, this interesting and well-preserved little structure was demolished by the new vicar, the Rev. Daniel Jones, and its materials used in the rebuilding of the Vicarage and the construction of the present stable which stands

near the pond at the extreme eastern end of the Abbey enclosure. Mr. Bury's account of this now-destroyed appanage of the Abbey is particularly fortunate, as Buck's view of the ruins in 1740 does not apparently extend to the point where this building stood till so recently as 1866.[1]

At this date (1859) great praise is bestowed by leading members of the Arch. Camb. Association on the care taken of the ruins by their natural guardian, Mr. Vincent, but with that excellent man's decease in 1865 no further effort was made to maintain, still less to repair these precious monastic relics. Apart from the flagrant piece of vandalism just related, decay and neglect became visible everywhere, and it was only so lately as this present year (1916) that, thanks to a generous gift from Mr. John T. Lewis, of Gwynfryn, Llanarth, Cardiganshire, any steps have been taken towards their preservation. In the summer of 1916 the whole of the ivy, the unchecked growth of half a century, was completely stripped from the masonry, thereby exposing many features of interest that had been hidden for nearly two generations. Before however entering into closer details of this recent work, I think I had first of all better describe the ruins themselves as they survive to-day.

These consist of a considerable portion of the monastic church, namely, the western gable-end of the nave with its window; the northern wall of the nave; and the shell of the north transept with its three windows. On

[1] The Rev. J. Marsden, vicar of Llanllwch and a former curate at St. Dogmaels under the Rev. Henry Vincent, writes to me on November 1st, 1916:—"I distinctly remember that there was a building standing to the east of the Abbey ruins, and on or very near the boundary of the grounds in which the ruins stand. And I am certain it was there when I left St. Dogmaels in 1860. Of the circumstances of its demolition I have no information to give."



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ST. DOGMAEL'S. INTERIOR OF REFECTORY, LOOKING E.



To face p. 11.

ST. DOGMAEL'S. INTERIOR OF REFECTORY, SHOWING ALCOVE AND WESTERN DOORWAY.

the south side is a moderate-sized roofless building which has always been named the Refectory, so I shall speak of it as such. This ruin is about 40 feet long by 25 feet broad, and contains the remains of vaulting, two windows, and a large arched recess with a small south window. It has a low but elegant portal at its western end, of which the upper portion is composed of local red sand-stone, the "redd stone" which George Owen, the Elizabethan historian of Pembrokeshire, notes as occuring in these ruins. A few paces to the west of this doorway stands a considerable fragment of masonry whose identity I cannot determine. Mr. Bury speaks of it as part of the cloister, but personally I think it to be the remnant of some domestic building, though it contains a gothic arch sunk deep into the soil.

To return to the North Side.—The great west window is still a prominent feature, and yet retains some of its moulded splays in a broken condition. Within the north wall are two well-preserved alcoves of the usual type, which no doubt once contained effigies and ornamentation that have long disappeared. The north transept itself is the most important and striking survival of the Abbey. Its shell so far as the roof is almost perfect; its three tall windows retain much of their moulded jambs of red sandstone; portions of three of the four springers of its former fan-vaulting remain. Of these the supporting corbel of one shows the figure of an angel (S. Matthew); of another that of a winged lion (S. Mark); of the third an eagle with wings displayed (S. John); doubtless, the fourth springer, which has wholly vanished, rested on the winged calf of S. Luke. All, of course, are much mutilated. As this fan-vaulting dates from the early years of the sixteenth century, the decoration of this transept at St. Dogmaels must be contemporary with the beautiful

Chapel of the Trinity erected by Bishop Vaughan in St. David's Cathedral (1509-1523), and perhaps it is not too much to suggest that both these late Perpendicular erections at no great distance apart were designed by the same architect.

In the north-east angle of this transept are two bare alcoves that once were tombs of importance. A good deal of the original plastering still adheres to these walls, which are heavily buttressed externally, these buttresses displaying an effective scheme of decoration of red sandstone alternating with grey or light-coloured material. The walls of nave and transept, and indeed all parts of the abbey, are pierced at frequent intervals with holes about a foot square. Their purpose has greatly puzzled me, but as even the buttresses themselves are thus perforated, I imagine that the object of these apertures was to drain off the moisture of the porous stone of the fabric and not to ventilate the interior of the church, as I surmised at first.

In the north wall and near the west end of the nave stands the lateral entrance to the church, which was presumably intended for the use of the public. Until the summer of 1916 this doorway was partially blocked up with rubbish and earth, so that barely five feet showed above ground; but now a further five feet and more of clearing has brought fresh features to light. On the inner or the church side this portal is constructed of plain grey dressed stone, but on the churchyard or northern side it presents a good specimen of the decorated ball-flower ornamental moulding, showing its date to be about 1300, or possibly a little later. Excavation on this side has recently exposed the whole of this archway with its richly decorated scheme intact, shewing in the inner groove of the arch forty specimens of this ball-flower ornament (see



ST. DOGMAEL'S. NAVE OF CHURCH, SHOWING WEST WINDOW, ALCOVES AND NORTH-WEST PORTAL.

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ST. DOGMAEL'S. NORTH TRANSEPT OF CHURCH FROM THE SOUTH.

illustration). Above, a much-mutilated weather-hood ending in two corbels of faces (one of which has disappeared) also shows some surviving ball-flowers, though most of them have perished. It is hoped later to excavate yet further afield into the churchyard, so as to exhibit more clearly this beautiful doorway, of which the lower portion has been hidden beneath the soil for some hundreds of years. I may add that in clearing away the earth for this object, a face-corbel was disinterred amongst the rubble.

Last, I must make some reference to the many carved fragments which are preserved mostly in front of the present Vicarage to the south of the Abbey. There seems to be an idea prevalent that these architectural columns, capitals, corbels, bosses, tracery, etc., belonged to the original twelfth century church, and were cast aside by a later generation of monks when they rebuilt or enlarged their church. This is not so, as the fragments in question date from various periods, and I think there can be little doubt as to their history, for I have every reason to believe they were carefully removed from the adjacent parish church when the former structure was pulled down in the middle of last century. That the old parish church contained a large number of such fragments is clearly established from the remarks of Sir R. C. Hoare and Richard Fenton; indeed, the latter historian even speaks of this church as "evidently raised from the ruins of the Abbey" (*Hist. Tour*, p. 513). Also, both these writers mention the monumental stone of John Bradshaw as being inside the church itself; and as this identical stone, now sadly diminished in size, is included amongst these architectural orts and objects in the vicarage garden, it was presumably deposited here at the same time by Mr. Vincent, who doubtless intended later to remove all these

rescued fragments to some suitable and safe place of keeping.

As to the parish church of St. Thomas itself, apparently in mediæval times the village church stood on a hillock between the two mills due east of the Abbey at a spot now called Shingrig.[1] Here in October, 1905, when a couple of old cottages were pulled down to make room for a new villa, a number of graves were discovered. The eastern wall of one of these cottages also exhibited some tracery in local red sand-stone, and on examination I considered it to have formed part of the chief window of a small ancient church or chapel. Apparently it was not before the close of the seventeenth century that the original site of the parish church was abandoned and a new building erected, largely of materials taken from the monastic ruins, a little to the north of the Abbey church. The western end of this second parish church is shown in Buck's view as existing in 1740; whilst Gastineau's sketch of a later date includes its chancel of bastard gothic. In or about 1847 this church was replaced by the larger edifice which now exists. In the present choir are two fine carved oak chairs dated 1700, which may possibly have been made specially for use in the church which was traditionally re-erected here about that particular year.

To-day.—Except along the northern wall of the nave no digging has to the best of my knowledge hitherto been undertaken at the Abbey, and it is strange to think also how little has been written until very recent years concerning this interesting Tironian community. We have no description of any value about its ruins previous to Mr. Talbot Bury's short paper in the summer of 1859,

[1] Said to be a corruption of *eisyn-grûg* (heap of chaff), the refuse of the milling.



To face p. 14.

ST. DOGMAEL'S. REFECTORY AND ADJACENT RUINS, FROM THE N.W.



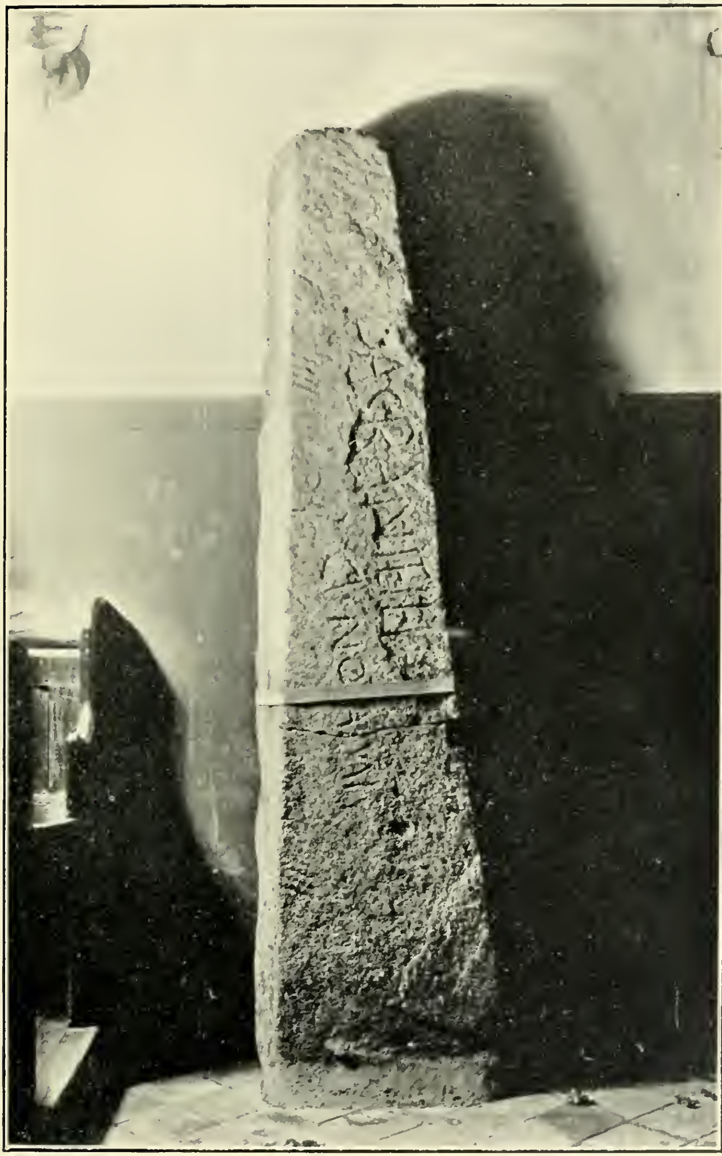
To face p. 15.

ST. DOGMAEL'S. THE REFECTORY, FROM THE S.W.

from which I have already quoted; and the meeting of the Arch. Camb. Association at Cardigan in August 1904 produced no fresh information in the pages of that Society's *Journal.* But in 1907, the late Mrs. E. M. Pritchard, of Cardigan Priory, published a large and well-illustrated quarto volume entitled *The History of St. Dogmaels Abbey*—a really valuable contribution to Welsh monastic history despite a good deal of irrelevant or digressive matter. Here for the first time full extracts from the Cartulary of Tiron and from numerous English documents preserved in the Record Office of London and elsewhere were placed at the disposal of the student, who can thereby obtain a clear history of the Abbey from its foundation by Robert Fitz Martin to the Dissolution, and can also learn a good deal of the subsequent vicissitudes of the manor of St. Dogmaels under the Bradshaws and Parrys. Nevertheless, of practical excavation nothing has yet been attempted since the days of Henry Vincent, the account of whose labours and discoveries is lost to us. The removal of four of the more important ancient stones to the shelter of the parish church (through the generosity of Dr. Henry Owen, of Poyston) in the autumn of 1915, was the first step in the right direction, as this generous act was followed almost immediately by Mr. Lewis' welcome donation. Thanks to this, we have uncovered several features of great interest, including two long-hidden shafts of fan-tracery in the transept, and the small south window of the so-called Refectory. The excavation of the fine lateral decorated doorway in the nave also produced most satisfactory results. Acting under the advice of Mr. Evan Jones of Pentower, we now propose to place some wooden props to strengthen the overhanging side of the east wall of the north transept. What remains of our money will, I think, be taken up with some necessary

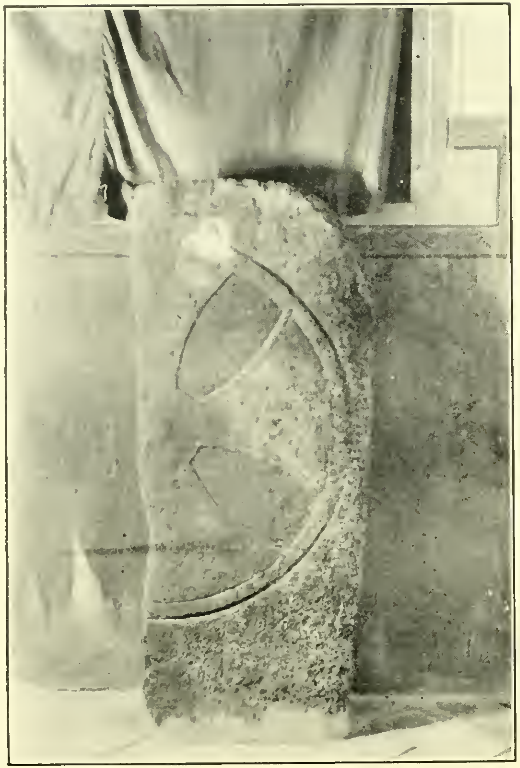
pointing of masonry here and there, or a little patching of decaying places in the ruins. As to further excavation, there is a fine field open for some enterprising antiquary with money to spare. The Vicarage orchard which now occupies the site of the Abbey is in reality some six or seven feet above the original level of the church floor, and at this depth there must exist the foundations of the whole structure with pavements, bases of columns, and many fragments of interest. Those who have seen the excavations at Strata Florida and Abbey Cwmhir can gain some idea of the results that almost certainly will be attained at St. Dogmaels.

Of the ancient plan of the Abbey and its arrangements both for purposes of worship and residence nothing has so far been suggested. It is easy to trace the lines of the actual church, but beyond this pretty obvious surmise, all else is uncertain. The conspicuous building on the south side of the church is invariably styled the Refectory, but with all humility I venture to question the accuracy of this popular nomenclature. The building itself is in my opinion far too small to serve for the entertainment of the twenty-six or more regular monks of the establishment, especially when we consider that there must have been constant guests and pilgrims at this religious house, seeing that St. Dogmaels lay on one of the principal routes from North Wales to St. Davids. Nor can I discover the smallest trace of its stone staircase or pulpit to which Mr. Bury alludes. My own view is that this ruin was once a private apartment of the lord abbot, a fine chamber without doubt but wholly inadequate for the purposes of a refectory of this monastery. It is also usual to speak of the adjacent mass of ruin as part of the cloister, but here again I join issue, for I suspect it formed part of the Bradshaw manor house constructed



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ST. DOGMAEL'S. THE "SAGRANUS" STONE, FIXED AT WESTERN END OF PARISH CHURCH.





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ST. DOGMAEL'S. ANCIENT INCISED STONES, NOW PLACED IN PARISH CHURCH.

within the abbey-garth. The so-called Oven, to the south-west of the nave, is, I think, a disused and filled-in well. It is useless to speculate as to what only patient research and scientific excavation can reveal, but I have a notion that the former cloister was situated in the square sunken plot of ground due east of the church, close to the site of the interesting little building that was razed by Parson Jones in 1866, which I hold to have been the chapter-house.

Ancient Stones.—For some years past the precincts of St. Dogmaels Abbey have been utilized for the preservation of various ancient stones and slabs from the neighbourhood, of which the following list has recently been compiled by me.

(1) The Sagranus Stone, now affixed to the west end of the interior of the parish church. So many descriptions of this celebrated stone have been already published that no further account is required here.

(2) A moderate-sized stone with an incised key pattern on its face, being probably part of a cross but much obliterated by time and weather. In north transept of church.

(3) The great Altar Stone of the Abbey, a ponderous bevelled slab weighing nearly a ton. This was embedded in the soil of the vicarage orchard till October 1915 when it was removed and placed in its present position between the altar of the parish church and the south wall of the chancel. It is slightly damaged at one corner, but the five small incised crosses on its surface are clearly visible, whilst at the lately disinterred end of the stone are apparent some notches, which are said on very doubtful authority to be Ogam characters. (See the *Cardigan and Tivyside Advertiser*, November 13th, 1915.)

(4) The surviving portion being about two-thirds of a

rather thin dark flat stone, having the pattern of a wheel cross. In south transept of church.

(5) A tall thin grey monolith with an elegant key pattern and a wheel cross, broken at the top. At north-east angle of the Refectory.

(6) The Manian-fawr Stone, set upright in the autumn of 1906 against the south wall of the Refectory. It was presented to the Cambrian Archæological Association by the landowner, Mrs. Brenchley of Glaneirw, and was erected here at the expense of that Society. It is the largest and heaviest of all the St. Dogmaels stones, weighing about a ton and a half, and measuring 7 feet high, 16 inches broad, and 14 inches thick. Its face is marked by a simple cruciform pattern. (See *Cardigan and Tivyside Advertiser*, July 26th, 1906.)

(7) A heavy slab about five feet long, apparently plain, propped against the south wall of the Refectory.

(8) A fine green porphyritic monolith with a branching pattern and the letters "D. I." at its thin end.

(9) A thick rectangular slab of plain grey stone.—Both 8 and 9 are placed on the south side of the ruin just west of the Refectory.

In conclusion I should like to express my thanks for kind assistance or advice in the preparation of this article to the late vicar of St. Dogmaels, the Rev. Myfenydd Morgan, who only passed away last autumn; to Mr. (now Sir) E. D. Jones of Pentower; to Mr. John Evans, F.A.I., of Cardigan; to the Rev. G. Eyre Evans of Ty Tringad, Aberystwyth, and to Mr. Ladd Davies of Cardigan.

ST. DOGMAELS: APPENDIX.

As an addendum to Mr. Herbert Vaughan's interesting account of the Benedictine Abbey of St. Mary at St. Dogmael's we are glad to publish a full abstract of the possessions of the Monastery at the date of the Dissolution in the reign of Henry the Eighth, taken from the "Ministers Accounts" in the Public Record Office, by Mr. Edward Owen, a member of the Council of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, and Secretary to the Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments in Wales and Monmouthshire.—V.E.

The Monastery of St. Dogmaels.

Public Record Office: Ministers Accounts; 27-28 Henry VIII, No. 5287.

Account of John Phillip Thomas, collector of the rents and ferms of the late dissolved monastery of St. Dogmaels, from Michaelmas 27th to Michaelmas 28th Henry VIII.

Arrears—None, because this is the first account.

Demesne Lands—Rent of the demesne lands in the hands of William Hyer, late Abbot .. .. 64*s.*

Rents at will, and by lease in the parish of St. Dogmaels, alias the Llandr'.

One tenement called Mylle Broke in parish of Nevern, and one close in the franchise of Newport (*Novi Burgi*), with all arable, non-arable, meadow and pasture, wet and dry, wood and plain, to the said tenement annexed, with all appurt's, demised by lease to Lewis (*Leodowico*) Yonge by the conventual seal of the late Monastery, which lease was not exhibited .. .. .. 8*s.*

Two tenements called Haber Berkethelley, demised by lease to Griffin ap Phillip ap Powell, by conventual deed which was not exhibited .. .. 6*s.* 8*d.*

One burgage with garden adjoining in the township (*villam*) of St. Dogmaels, in the highway (*vico*) called Landon, demised by lease to Richard ap Thomas ap Ieuan by conventual deed which was not exhibited .. .. 7*s.* 4*d.*

Two tenements lying in the parish of St. Dogmaels in the barony [or franchise] aforesaid, of which one is called Coit Parke John Lloyd, the other Tyre Wyat, lying between the common lands of the said monastery

called Castell y Drewe on the west, and extending itself by a private road over against (*versus*) the north to a place called Bowlghe Never[n] to the land of William Hew, and then eastwardly over against the land of Phillip John Webbe, and so to the common land vulgarly called Lyte, and then southerly over against the Well (*fontem*) called Colwill, and so to the place called Foxhyll Vaure, demised to Phillipp Roger, by conventual lease of the 2 August, 27 Henry VIII, for 80 years, as by one part of such lease with the Auditor more fully appears .. .. 6*s*. 8*d*.

One burgage with garden, and also one orchard demised by indenture to Elizabeth Williams, heiress of William, which lease is not exhibited .. .. .. 14*d*.

2 ac. lands, and one piece ditto, lying in the east field (*in orientale campo*) of the said township demised by indenture to Elizabeth Williams, which lease is not exhibited .. .. 2*s*. 6*d*.

2 ac. land in a certain place called Briscu' [or Bristu'], between the lands of Thomas ap Jankyn ap Owen on the north and on the east, by the common moor on the west where lies the tenement of D'd Hew, and on the west where lies the land of Rotheroth Lloyd surrounded by the roadway [*via communa*], and another acre called Pittac, which lies at the top [*in capite*] of Gurne Segier in the demesne, demised to Rotheroth ap John Griffith, by deed of 21 July, 24 Henry VIII, for 97 years, as by one part of this indenture with the Auditor more fully appears .. 3*s*.

Tenement in the parish of St. Dogmael's in the aforesaid barony, called Place Pene a Bounte, and extending from the tenement of Owen ap Ph' on the north, and to the public road on the east, to Pen abonde on the east, and next (*juxta*) the river Sale to the said tenement, And one other acre besides (*extra*) meadow which lies next the meadow of John D'd and Owen ap Ph' demised to Rice ap D'd Richard, by deed dated 21 March, 25 Henry VIII, for 99 years, as by one part of this deed with the Auditor more fully appears .. .. .. 10*s*. 4*d*.

Half burgage with appurt's in London called Aruard Plac' of the lands of Roos (*terr' Roos*), demised to Ienan ap Jenkyn Griffith by deed which is not exhibited .. 3*s*. 10*d*.

Tenement with appurt's lying in the said demesne at Capell S'ci Julian where now dwells a certain Howell, demised to Howell ap Jenkyn ap Owen, by conventual deed which is not exhibited .. .. .. 3*s*. 4*d*.

Tenement with appurt's demised to Owen ap Phillip by conventual deed which is not exhibited .. 31*s*. 8*d*.

Tenement next the orchard of John Gryn next the bridge of Cardigan, and all our (*nostras*) lands on the north, demised to John Lewes for life, as it is said .. 18*s*. 9½*d*.

Tenement called Penralte with appurt's which a certain William Thomas of Tynbie held, and one park called

P'ke Arbenward [yr hen ward] on the west of the forest of Kylgorren, and one acre land between the park of John D'd Lewes, demised to Rice ap John Awbery by deed of 8th June, 23 Henry VIII, for 80 years, which is with the Auditor, more fully appears	17*s*. 8*d*.
One piece land with appurt's demised at will to Robert ap Price ap Powell	20*d*.
Various lands demised at will to William Hewes ..	4*s*.
Certain lands with appurt's demised at will to D'd ap Ieuan	3*s*. 4*d*.
Tenement with appurt's, and land to the same adjoining, demised at will to Morice ap D'd	10*s*. 4*d*.
Tenement with appurt's demised at will to Jenkyn Roger	7*s*. 8*d*.
One dwelling (*domus*) demised at will to Jenkyn ap Ieuan ap Gwill'm	3*s*. 4*d*.
One acre demised at will to Ieuan Powle ..	12*d*.
Various rents of lands with garden, demised at will to John Sporyour	7*s*. 8*d*.
Tenement demised at will to John Mortymere ..	2*s*. 6*d*.
Total	£8 2 5½

Rents at will, by copy of court roll, and by deed in Manoghloke duy.

Tenement called Mynyth certhe in the tenure of the heir of Parat who holds (tenet) freely	13*s*. 4*d*.
Tenement in the said lordship and district (*com'*) of Monachlog duy ychathe where now dwells the above (*sic*) Howell, demised to Howell ap Thomas ap Owen by deed of the 8th October, 27 Henry VIII for 99 years, with the Auditor, as more fully appears	8*s*. 8*d*
Tenement with appurt's called Place Pant Rege [? Rhug], demised to Howell ap Owen ap Powell by deed of 10th October, 27 Henry VIII, for 99 years, as by one part thereof with the Auditor more fully appears ..	5*s*. 8*d*.
Tenement with appurt's called Come Kerwyn, demised to D'd ap Rice ap Owen by deed of 12th October, 27 Henry VIII, for 99 years, as by one part thereof with the Auditor more fully appears	10*s*.
Two tenements in the parish of St. Dogmaels, and in the district [*co'it*] of Landr' Manachlog Duy, demised to Lewis ap Ieuan by deed of 10th October, 27 Henry VIII, for 99 years, as by one part thereof with the Auditor more fully appears	16*s*.
Tenement lying at Capell S'ci Guliany, demised to Hoell ap Jenkyn ap Owen, by deed which is not extended	3*s*. 4*d*.
Tenement with appurt's called Pont'r Ithe demised to Griffin ap Ieuan ap Jenkyn by deed of 9th October, 27	

Henry VIII, for 99 years, as by one part thereof with the Auditor more fully appears	9*s.* 8*d.*
Tenement situate in Blayne 1 Cowrse glethe, demised to Eynon ap D'd by deed of 7th October, 27 Henry VIII, for 99 years, as by one part thereof with the Auditor more fully appears	5*s.* 4*d.*
Three tenements with appurt's, of which one lies near (*apud*) Y Vron Lase in the lordship of St. Dogmaels which Griffin ap D'd gors lately held, the others lying near Hengwrt, and within their metes and bounds, and all other our tenements from the river Blaencryth to Blae[n]ba', demised to Owen ap Powell and D'd ap Powell by deed of the 9th July, 25 Henry VIII, for 99 years, as by one part thereof with the Auditor more fully appears	11*s.*
Tenement with appurt's demised at will to James [*Jacobo*] ap Powell ap Bowen	10*s.* 2*d.*
Tenement demised to Ll'n ap Ieuan Pickton at will ..	3*s.* 8*d.*
Tenement demised to Ieuan ap Powell ap Ieuan ap D'd at will	5*s.*
Tenement with appurt's demised to Jenkyn ap Griffith at will	5*s.* 8*d.*
Tenement with appurt's demised to Phillipp Thomas at will	5*s.*
Tenement with appurt's demised to D'd Willyams at will	2*s.* 1*d.*
Tenement with appurt's demised to Thomas ap Dio Gwill'm at will	2*s.* 6*d.*
Total	£5 17 1

Lordship (dominium) of Rattre in co. Devon.

The entire lordship, with all appurtenances and services, tithes of the parish of St. Mary of Rattre, demised to William ap Harry and William Phillip by indenture [set forth at large]. Parties: William, abbot of the monastery of St. Dogmael in Kemeys, diocese of St. Davids; William ap Harry and William ap Phillip, gents., of the diocese of St. Davids, in co. Carm'dine, and Treffegwynt in Pebidyauge;

Term, 80 years;	
Rent of	£20

Dated in chapter house (*in domo nostra capitulari*), 24th September, 26 Henry VIII.

Rents at will in Haverforde and Pembroke.

Tenement in Haverforde demised to John Daye at will	10*s.*
Tenement in Pembroke demised to John Smyth at will	26*s.* 8*d.*
	36*s.* 8*d.*

The Mill of Ffysshyngarde, co. Pembroke.

Water mill in Fysshyngarde, with all appurt's, demised to Owin ap D'd ap Gwill'm by deed which is not extended 20*s.*

Vill of Ffisshyngarde.

Rents in villa aforesaid .. .. .. £6 13*s.* 4*d.*

Rents at will and by Indenture in Grandyston.

Tenement at Grandiston with appurt's demised to Thomas ap D'd ap Phillip by deed [set forth in extenso].

Parties: William abbot of St. Dogmael in Kemeys and Thomas ap D'd ap Phillip of Grandiston, in the lordship of Pebid[iog].
Tenement apud Grandiston where the said Thomas now dwells.
Terms, 60 years.
Rent . .. . 18*s.*
Dated, 10th June, 27 Henry VIII [1525].

Tenement demised at will to John ap Ieuan .. 8*s.*

Various rents of waste land demised at will to John Jonyns .. .. 8*d.*

Total £1 6 8

Rents at will and by Indenture in Caldey.

Tenement in the island of Caldey demised to Thomas ap William Owen by deed, as it is stated .. .. 7*s.* 4*d.*

Tenement with appurt's demised at will to John Willyams .. .. 7*s.* 4*d.*

Tenement demised at will to John Whytyng .. 6*s.*

Tenement with appurt's demised at will to Richard Prowte .. .. 5*s.*

Tenement with appurt's demised at will to Lewis Whytyng .. .. 8*s.* 4*d.*

Tenement with appurt's demised at will to Thomas Prowte .. .. 5*s.* 4*d.*

Tenement with appurt's demised at will to Lewis Webe .. .. 4*s.*

Tenement with appurt's demised at will to William Gough .. .. 10*s.*

Tenement with appurt's demised at will to John Adam 3*s.* 6*d.*

All Tithes, with the site of the Priory of Caldey, containing by estimation 18 ac., demised at will to Owen Lloyde .. .. 60*s.*

Total £5 16 10

Rectory of Ffiscarde and Gragyston.

Tithes, oblations, and all profits, demised at will to John D'd and William Phillipps, fermors of the same, by William Hyer late abbot, for the time covered by this account .. .. £10 6*s.* 8*d.*

Rectory of Mancloughhoc, Llandilo, and Llancolman.

Tithes, etc., demised to Henry Scurbell [or Scurvell], etc. £8

Chapel (capella) of Manoghloke duy.

Tithes, etc., demised to Owin ap Powell, fermor of the same £5

Rectory of St. Thomas the Martyr of St. Dogmael, alias the Llandr'.

Tithes, etc., in the hands of William Hyer, late abbot.. £20

Church of Egliscero [Eglwys Wrw].

Tithes, etc., in the hands of William Hyer, late abbot £7 6*s.* 8*d.*

Chapel of Nountwyn clysprase and Newton.

Tithes, etc., demised to Owen ap Powell, by indenture, as it is said .. .. £7 6*s.* 8*d.*

Rectory of Bayvyll.

Tithes, etc., in the hands of William Hyer, late abbot £4 13*s.* 4*d.*

Rectory of Molgrave.

Tithes, etc., in the hands of William Hyer, late abbot £6 13*s.* 4*d.*

Churches of Llantode and of St. Nicholas.

Tithes, etc., in the hands of William Hyer, late abbot £6 13*s.* 4*d.*

Pension from the late Priory of Pulla.

Pension paid to (*de*) William Hyer proceeding from the priory of Pull' .. .. £9 6*s.* 8*d.*

Pension from Glasterell in Ireland.

Pension from the prior of Glasterell in Hibernia—nil, because no payment has been made for over 40 years by the oath of William Hyer, late abbot of St. Dogmaels .. *nil*

Chapel of Penkelthy Vaghan.

Tithes, etc., in the hands of the said late abbot for the whole period of this account .. .. .. 25*s.*

Perquisites of Court.

Nothing, because none have accrued during the period of this account, by oath of the accountant .. .. *nil*

Total receipts £140 8 8½

Fees and Outgoings.

Fee of Lord Fferres, steward of the court, granted to him by letters patent, under the convent seal, by oath of William Hyer, late abbot, per ann. .. .. £3 6*s.* 8*d.*

Fee of Lewis Jordane, clerk of the court, granted similarly, per ann. .. .. 0 14*s.* 0*d.*

Fee of Lewis ap Powell, bailiff and collector of rents and ferms, granted similarly, per ann. .. .. 4 0*s.* 0*d.*

£8 0*s.* 8*d.*

Procurations and Synodals.

To Griffith Lloyd, archdeacon of St. David's for procurations and synodals from all the churches aforesaid .. 32*s.*

Rents Resolute.

To the Castle of Cardigan proceeding from the township (*vill'*) of St. Dogmaels, *alias* Le Landere, per ann. .. 10*s.*

And he is debited for rents and ferms due to the king for the said term, by the said William Hyer, late abbot, received and expended, with .. .. £130 6*s.* 0½*d.*

Amount allowed and admitted as above .. £140 8*s.* 8½*d.*

which sum corresponds with the receipts above.

Et quietus est.

The Year of the Reception of the Saxones.

By the Rev. A. W. WADE-EVANS,

Vicar of France Lynch, Glos.

No small interval after the third consulship of Aëtius in A.D. 446, when southern Britain was now occupied by independent communities of 'Welsh' and 'English', an event occurred in the island, the significance of which underwent in after times extraordinary misconception. It appears that in that western portion of southern Britain where the Britons were generally collected and which in Latin was known as *Britannia*, a certain 'Welsh' king invited certain 'English' to assist him against his enemies and received them with hospitality. The name of the king is given later as Vortigern, his enemies are said to have been Picts and Scots, and the English whom he invited and received are called *Saxones*. Whether the incident was really important or otherwise, it was afterwards made to mean *the first coming of the English to Britain*, and the year was remembered.

Let it be said at once that there was no year when the English landed for the first time in the island of Britain at the invitation of the Welsh. The story is as mythical as the Gomeric origin of the Cymry. The Saxons, as is well known, had begun to infest the south-eastern coast of Roman Britain as early as the third century. To check or regulate their movements the Romans had established a system of coast defence from the Wash to the Isle of Wight, which was known as *Litus Saxonicum*, the Saxon Shore.

This system, which consisted of some nine forts, was in full activity at the beginning of the fourth century, being under the control of a *comes* or Count of the Saxon Shore. To what extent the Saxons settled in Roman Britain before and whilst this system prevailed, is a question which as yet has hardly been raised, the general obsession being that the first Saxon settlement in Britain must have occurred after the departure of the tyrant, Constantine, in A.D. 407. In 409 the Britannias were devastated by an incursion of Saxons, which does not necessarily mean Saxons from over the sea. In 429 Saxons were fighting in conjunction with Picts in some mountainous part of south Britain. In 439 the Britannias, lost by the Romans, yielded to the sovereignty of the Saxons. Again in 441 the Britannias, which up to this time had been torn by various slaughters and disasters, are brought under the dominion of the Saxons. And before the end of the fifth century the Saxons were so powerful in Britain that Aelle of Sussex was Bretwalda, or chief ruler of England, south of the Humber. About the beginning of the sixth century five of the chief kings of Britannia attacked by St. Gildas are Constantine of Devon, Aurelius Caninus of Cornwall, Vortiporius of Dyved (S.W. Wales), Cynlas of Dinerth, near Llandudno, and Maelgwn Gwynedd of Anglesey, which indicates that Britannia meant to him that portion of Britain, which now goes under the names of Wales and the West Country (the Devonian peninsula). In 554 Britain contains three numerous nations, Britons, Angles, and Frisians, which crowd the island to such an extent that they migrate yearly in great numbers to the continent. All this and more proves that the English were established in Britain not only before some interval after the third consulship of Aëtius in A.D. 446, but even long before that consulship.

Nevertheless, some no small interval after A.D. 446 a 'Welsh' king did invite and did receive *Saxones* into *Britannia*, and this incident, as I have said, was strangely made to mean that on that occasion the English came and settled in Britain for the first time. It was regarded as the first advent of the Saxons, and in after times diligent attempts were made both in Welsh and English circles to fix the precise year.

Now that year was known to the author of the *Excidium Britanniae*, It was no small interval after the third consulship of Aëtius in 446. He does not state what the year was, but we can determine it in this wise. He tells us that when the *Saxones* came, there was a prophecy current among them that they should occupy *Britannia* for 300 years, and that for the first half of this period, that is, for 150 years, they should not cease fighting with the Britons. As fighting did not cease until the Battle of the Badonic Hill, which occurred in the first year of peace, that battle was fought when a round 150 years had been completed from the Saxon advent. We learn from the *Annales Cambriae* that the Battle of the Badonic Hill took place in A.D. 665. Consequently the 150 years of strife extended from 514 to 664, and the year when the *Saxones* were received into *Britannia* was A.D. 514.

II.

The *Excidium Britanniae* was written in A.D. 708. We know this because its author tells us he was writing in the forty-fourth year of the great peace which began in A.D. 665 with the victory at the Badonic Hill. The little book received great attention both in Welsh and English circles. By A.D. 725 it had come into the hands of Bede, who quotes from it in that year in his *De temporum ratione*. In A.D. 730 Bede was using it as his chief authority for

British affairs in the fifth and sixth centuries, quoting and paraphrasing the greater portion of it in his celebrated *Historia Ecclesiastica*. Unfortunately, however, the *Excidium Britanniae* was shockingly misunderstood. It came to be regarded as a work of the Welsh ecclesiastic, St. Gildas, who flourished in the early sixth century! The forty-fourth year from the Battle of the Badonic Hill was made to mean that the Battle was fought about forty-four years after the Saxon advent! And the author was taken to be writing his treatise a generation later, that is, about the middle of the sixth century! Bede, however, faithfully adhered to its evidence that the *Saxones* were received into *Britannia* after the third consulship of Aëtius in A.D. 446.

Now about the time when the *Excidium Britanniae* was written, which, being also the age of Aldhelm and Bede, was a period of increased literary activity, there was a brief extant in Britain, which in its correct British form would have read as follows: *Quando Gratianus consul fuit quarto et Aequitius secundo, tunc his consulibus, Saxones a Guorthigerno in Britanniam suscepti sunt anno CCCXLVIII° a passione Christi,* When Gratian was consul for the fourth time and Aequitius for the second time, these being then consuls, the *Saxones* were received into *Britannia* by Vortigern in the 348th year from the Passion of Christ. The year indicated is our A.D. 375. The problem arose at once as to how to reconcile this brief which places the reception of the *Saxones* in A.D. 375 with the evidence of the *Excidium Britanniae* which places it some interval after the third consulship of Aëtius in A.D. 446.

The Erroneous Solution of 449.

Somebody observed that A.D. 375 was the first year of the joint-reigns of Gratian and Valentinian II, and that

A.D. 450 was the first year of the joint-reigns of Martian and Valentinian III. He concluded that there had been confusion between the names of the emperors, and in accordance with the evidence of the *Excidium Britanniae* which places the Saxon advent after A.D. 446, he fixed it in A.D. 450. Our theorist, however, in denoting that year did not use the formula "A.D. 450" but another one, which ignores the current year and reckons only *the years completed*. He did not say that Vortigern received the Saxons in A.D. 450, but (meaning the same thing) that Vortigern received them *when 449 years of our Lord were completed and done with*. It was from this theorist and computist that Bede drew his 449 and his "about 449" as the year of the Saxon advent.

The Erroneous Solution of 428.

As 449 or "about 449" is forty years from the sack of Rome by the Goths when Roman rule in Britain was held by some to cease, the computists who accepted 449 would say that Vortigern received the Saxons forty years after the end of Roman domination in Britain. The *Excidium Britanniae*, however, would make it appear that Roman rule in Britain ceased with the death of Maximus in 388. It was Maximus who drained the island of all its military strength and exposed it for the first time to the attacks of barbarians from over the water, first, the Picts and Scots, and then the Saxons. Maximus took away with him to the continent all the soldiers and military supplies of Britain, *and they never returned*. With his death, therefore, in A.D. 388, Roman rule ended, notwithstanding the fact that Roman armies are made to come twice afterwards to the island to assist the Britons. If, then, there was an interval of forty years between the end of Roman rule in Britain and the advent of the Saxons, those who

regarded the former to have occurred in A.D. 388 would fix the latter in A.D. 428. It was from such inconsequence that the *Historia Brittonum* deduced A.D. 428, when Felix and Taurus were consuls, as the year of the Saxon advent.

III.

Let us now return to the puzzling brief which stated that the Saxons were received into Britain when Gratian was consul for the fourth time and Aequitius for the second time, being the 348th year from the Passion of Christ.

Before this brief was put together the computists in Britain had come across the following remarkable passage in a late edition of the *Liber Pontificalis*:—

> *Eleuther natione Graecus ex patre Abundio de oppido Nicopoli sedit ann. xv, m. iii, d. ii. Fuit temporibus Antonini et Commodi usque ad Paterno et Bradua. Hic accepit epistula a Lucio Britannio rege ut Christianus efficeretur per ejus mandatum.*
>
> Eleuther, a Greek by nation, his father being Abundius of the city of Nicopolis, occupied the see 15 years, 3 months, and 2 days. It was in the times of Antoninus and Commodus till Paternus and Bradua [consuls]. This man received a letter from Lucius, king of Britain, that he might be made a Christian by his command.

I am not here concerned with the interesting matter of the origin of this passage or its grammar or the strangeness of the form *Britannio*; only that it was read in Britain to mean that sometime from A.D. 161 when Antoninus and Commodus began to reign, a king of Britain, named Lucius, sent a letter to Pope Eleuther asking to be made a Christian. Aldhelm (died 709) and the *Excidium Britanniae* (written in 708) shew no knowledge of it, nor does Bede when he was writing his *De temporibus* in 702-3. When, however, in 725 he was writing his *De temporum ratione*, he had already come across the passage,

for under the reign of Marcus Aurelius he has *Lucius Britanniae rex, missa ad Eleutherium Romae Episcopum epistola, ut Christianus efficiatur, impetrat,* Lucius, king of Britain, seeks to be made a Christian, a letter having been sent to Eleutherius, Bishop of Rome (*Opera Bedae,* vi, 305-6). Bede does not fix the year in this work, but by 730 when he wrote his *Historia Ecclesiastica,* he places it within the joint reigns of Marcus Aurelius and Aurelius Commodus, that is, from 161 to 169 (i, 4), and limits the incident to the year 167 (v, 24), thus: "In the year of our Lord 167 Eleuther, being made bishop at Rome, governed the Church most gloriously fifteen years, to whom Lucius, king of Britain, sent a letter, asking to be made a Christian, and succeeded in obtaining his request".

The Britons, also, had come across the passage in the *Liber Pontificalis,* which they interpreted in this fashion:

> *Post CLXVII annos post adventum Christi Lucius Britannicus rex cum omnibus regulis totius Brittanicae gentis baptismum suscepit missa legatione ab imperatore Romanorum et a papa Romano Eucharisto* (or *Euaristo* or *Eleutherio*).
>
> After 167 years from the Advent of Christ, Lucius, British king, with all the rulers of the whole British race, received baptism, an embassy having been sent by the emperor of the Romans and by the Roman Pope, E.

Thus it is evident that for some reason both in English and Welsh circles the year 167 had been determined as that when the Britons first received Christianity. Now, as the frequent manner of the Britons was to compute from events in their own history, it would be tempting to some British computist to date from so important an event as this supposed first general Christianization of Britain, once it was believed that it had been chronologically determined. We must assume, therefore, that in this period of revival of learning when Aldhelm, and the author of the *Excidium Britanniae,* and Bede were living, some

British computist reckoned the Reception of the *Saxones* into *Britannia* in A.D. 514 as having occurred *in the 348th year from the Conversion of Lucius*, that is, 167 *plus* 347= 514. Somebody misread the 348th year from Lucius as the 348th year from the Passion of Christ and, looking up the consular names for that year, Gratianus IV and Aequitius II, straightway wrote out the brief fixing the Saxon advent in A.D. 375, which has proved the puzzle of ages.

IV.

Although the author of the *Excidium Britanniae* knew exactly what the year was in which the *Saxones* were invited and received into *Britannia*, he did not state it explicitly. He makes it clear, however, that it was no small interval after the third consulship of Aetius in A.D. 446, and that it began the 150 years of strife between Welsh and English which immediately preceded the year of the Badonic Hill. It is only because we have the definite entry in the *Annales Cambriae* that the Badonic Hill was fought in A.D. 665 that we are able to say that the *Saxones* were received in A.D. 514.

Our author, however, must have had a way of fixing the year in his own mind. It is not likely that he counted from the Conversion of Lucius, as he gives no indication that he was aware of that legend. He may have reckoned from the Passion of Christ. But it is more than probable that just as he knew the interval between the actual time in which he was writing and the victory at the Badonic Hill, and just as he knew the interval between the victory and the reception of the *Saxones*, so he would have been quite cognisant of the interval between the reception of the *Saxones* and the third consulship of Aëtius. He would have said that the *Saxones* came into *Britannia* in the sixty-ninth year from Aëtius, thrice consul (thus, 514

minus 68 = 446). Now it is this simple calculation which seems to be the underlying cause of the initial year of the *Annales Cambriae.*

If my readers will open the famous Volume ix. of *Y Cymmrodor* at p. 152, they will there see the beginning of the precious Latin Welsh Chronicle, drawn up in the tenth century, which now goes under the unhappy, modern, gimcrack name of *Annales Cambriae.* The Chronicle is preceded by a number of chronological notes from the Beginning of the World up to Decius and Valerianus. Then the annals begin with Annus i, ii, iii, etc., the first entry occurring opposite Annus ix. Mr. Phillimore, who edits the Chronicle, follows earlier writers, such as the editors of *Monumenta Hist. Britannica*, ab Ithel, and Skene, in equating Annus i with A.D. 444. In this he and his predecessors are wrong, even on their own showing, for they equate other *anni* on the assumption that Annus i is A.D. 445, which last is right. Thus Mr. Phillimore equates Annus ix with 453; he should, therefore, have equated Annus i not with A.D. 444, but with A.D. 445. It cannot be stated too often that Annus i of the *Annales Cambriae* is A.D. 445.

But why should the Chronicler have commenced his annals with this year, 445, against which there is no entry of any kind? Many attempts have been made to explain it, to which I now venture to add the one following.

I believe that the opening of the annals with Annus i [=A.D. 445] is intimately connected with the chronological note which immediately precedes it, which note reads thus :—*[A]b anno quo Saxones uenerunt in Brittanniam et a Guorthigirno suscepti sunt usque ad Decium et Ualerianum anni sunt sexaginta nouem,* From the year in which the *Saxones* came into *Britannia* and were received by Vorti-

gern until Decius and Valerian are 69 years. In short, my view is that this note is the true beginning of the Chronicle. It will be observed that in the original manuscript, as reproduced by Mr. Phillimore, this chronological note is not connected with those which go before but begins a fresh line, space being provided for a coloured capital [A] which the illuminator failed to insert. The preceding notes revolve around the erroneous idea that the *Saxones* were received in A.D. 428. This note, however, reverts to the brief, with which I have dealt above, that the *Saxones* were received in the 348th year from Christ's Passion, which is our A.D. 375, for if 69 be added to 375 we obtain A.D. 444. The Chronicler, having now commenced by saying that from the reception of the *Saxones* to Decius and Valerian are sixty-nine years, and having thus brought us to A.D. 444, straightway begins his Chronicle with Annus I, which equates with the year following, to wit, A.D. 445.

But what shall we say of Decius and Valerian, the familiar names of two persecuting emperors of the third century ! The answer is that Valerian has been added to Decius from the mere familiar conjunction of the names, as the ridiculous *mus* was added to the Decius of Pedigree xvi of the genealogies in the same codex (*Y Cymmrodor*, ix, 176) ; and that *decius* is an easy error for *aetius*, an error which will be readily appreciated by every reader of medieval manuscripts, the interchange of *d* and *a*, and of *c* and *t*, being common occurrences in these old writings. I believe that the original computation gave the interval between Aëtius in his third consulship in A.D. 446, to whom the Britons sent the famous letter cited in the *Excidium Britanniae*, and the Reception of the *Saxones* in A.D. 514, somewhat, let us say, as follows, *In anno lxviiii° ab aetio saxones uenerunt in britanniam*, In the sixty-ninth year from Aëtius came the *Saxones* into *Britannia*, etc.

This was erroneously paraphrased to signify that there was an interval of sixty-nine years from the Saxon Advent to Aëtius. Aëtius was misread as Decius with Valerian's name added from force of habit. The Saxon advent being fixed at A.D. 375, the interval of sixty-nine years to Decius and Valerian brought the compiler down to A.D. 444. He then commences the Chronicle with A.D. 445, on which hypothesis, be it observed, the initial year of the *Annales Cambriae* is of no particular importance.

Some Insular Sources of the "Excidium Britanniae".

By the Rev. A. W. WADE-EVANS,

Vicar of France Lynch, Glos.

By the *Excidium Britanniae* I mean chs. 2-26 only of the work commonly so called. The remaining chapters, that is, ch. 1 and chs. 27-110, originally formed another and a much earlier work, namely, the *Epistola Gildae,* the Epistle of Gildas. In my new series of articles on this question, beginning with that entitled "The *Romani* in the *Excidium Britanniae*" in the *Celtic Review* (Edinburgh) for August 1913, I find that the *Excidium Britanniae* was written in A.D. 708 which is about two centuries later than the *Epistola Gildae.* The succeeding articles, which are still in progress, appear in the *Celtic Review* for April 1914, November 1915, and June 1916. In adopting the view that the *Epistola Gildae* and the *Excidium Britanniae* are distinct productions, I am at variance with all the scholars, students, and inquirers of the present day who are known to me, with the exception of Mr. Alfred Anscombe. In 1911, Prof. J. E. Lloyd in his *History of Wales,* 161, could say "The authenticity of the *De Excidio* as a real production of the early sixth century is no longer seriously questioned". And again, "The efforts of Thomas Wright (*Biographia Britannica,* i, 115-35) and A. Anscombe (*Academy,* 1895) to find a place for it, either as a whole or in part, in the seventh century have been quite unsuccess-

ful". And still more recently we have been assured by so distinguished a scholar as Dr. F. Haverfield that he sees "no reason to put either Gildas or any part of the *Epistola* later than about 540" (Haverfield's *Romanization of Roman Britain*, 3rd ed., 1915, p. 84, n. 1).

In 1894, Mommsen edited this supposed work of Gildas, now divided into 110 chapters, under a lengthy title beginning *Gildae Sapientis de excidio et conquestu Britanniae*, Gildas the Wise on the Ruin and Conquest of Britain (M. G. H. *Chronica Minora*, iii, 1-85). In 1899, Mommsen's Latin text was edited with translation and notes by Professor Hugh Williams of Bala as No. 3 of the Cymmrodorion Record Series. The work has long been popularly known from the handy little volume entitled *Six Old English Chronicles* in Bohn's Antiquarian Library where it is translated into English under the heading *The Works of Gildas*. Students should be warned against using this translation or even that of Prof. Hugh Williams without reference to the original. No mediæval Latin work known to me needs such careful handling as chs. 2 to 26 of this collection, which, as I have said, constitute no part of the *Epistola Gildae*, but form a much later work wrongly incorporated with the *Epistola Gildae* and alone meriting the title *Excidium Britanniae*, the Loss of Britain. It actually possesses a Table of Contents proper to itself, now ingeniously interwoven with the prefatory remarks of the *Epistola Gildae*, and is also furnished with a typically formal ending, now blunted and blurred to make the close of the one book read smoothly into the succeeding portion of the other.

The *Excidium Britanniae* must have been completed before A.D. 725 because by that year it had come into the hands of the great English scholar and historian, Bede. The consequences were fateful, for Bede used it again in

his *Historia Ecclesiastica* as his foremost authority for insular events in the fifth and sixth centuries, quoting or paraphrasing the greater portion of it. The first and immediate result was that the *Excidium Britanniae* was lost, so to speak, in the more brilliant narrative of Bede. Henceforward men read the *Excidium Britanniae* only through Bede's eyes. The *Excidium Britanniae* was supplanted by Bede's borrowings therefrom, the latter being universally accepted whilst scant attention was paid to the former.

More than a century ago Peter Roberts in his *Chronicle of the Kings of Britain* (London, 1811) complains of Leland, Lhuyd, Ussher, and Stillingfleet, that while they were always ready to attend to the references made by Bede and his chronicling disciples to the writings ascribed to Gildas, yet, says he, these scholars "do not appear to have given that attention to the writings themselves, which was extremely necessary". And so to-day one has cause to complain and protest that writers of distinction issue works from the press, dealing with fifth and sixth century Britain, of whom it may equally truly be said (for a close scrutiny of their books and articles proves it), that they "do not appear to have given that attention, which was extremely necessary" to the *Excidium Britanniae*, notwithstanding their assurance that its author was the chief, if not the only, contemporary voice speaking to us out of those two dark British centuries. They attend to the *Chronicles* which follow Bede, and they attend to Bede who follows the *Excidium Britanniae*, but they curiously stop short at giving that close and serious attention, which is extremely necessary, to the *Excidium Britanniae* itself. Seventy years after Peter Roberts sent out his disregarded protest, it was possible for John Richard Green, the author of *A Short History of the English People*,

to write in all seriousness and sobriety that "Gildas had seen the English invasion"; and yet the man, whom Green took to be Gildas, tells us plainly that from the very year in which he was born there had been peace between the English and the Welsh!.

Bede's use of the *Excidium Britanniae* was followed by a far greater calamity than the one I have mentioned because of the manner in which he misunderstood it. Indeed almost all the prevailing misconceptions as to the work in question are traceable to him. It is Bede who, missing the purport of the *Excidium Britanniae* that the Britons lost the whole island of Britain except certain corners in the west, north Scotland first, and south Scotland with the English lowlands from the Firth of Forth to the English Channel next, limits the loss to the latter alone. It is Bede, who, mistaking the chronological sequence of the narrative before him, makes the English to have landed shortly after A.D. 446, and interprets the forty-fourth year from the Battle of the Badonic Hill as about forty-four years from the English arrival, with the fatal result that he throws back the victory and the writing of the book by a hundred and fifty to two hundred years. And finally it is Bede who virtually ascribes the authorship of the *Excidium Britanniae* to Gildas who died in the sixth century, and so starts the notion that Gildas was *par excellence* the historian of the Britons.

That Bede should have set the seal of his immense authority on such lamentable misconceptions of the *Excidium Britanniae* has so weighed with subsequent writers, both mediæval and modern, Welsh writers no less than English, that one can hardly get a hearing for any other view. Peter Roberts at the commencement of the nineteenth century, Thomas Wright in the middle, and Alfred Anscombe at the end, have been so many voices

crying in the wilderness. For over a thousand years the knowledge of our national origins, both English and Welsh, has been poisoned at the springs. On the strength of a slight sermonical sketch of a supposed national decline, written in A.D. 708 and erroneously conceived to have been by a prominent and learned Welsh ecclesiastic about A.D. 540, there is taught as sober history throughout the schools of the world the fable of an English conquest of Britain commencing shortly after A.D. 446, and accompanied by a vast displacement of Welsh people from the eastern districts of southern Britain into the midlands and from the midlands into the western corners of Strathclyde, Wales, and the Devonian peninsula. The true story of fifth and sixth century Britain, whatever that may have been, is obscured almost to obliteration, the chronological sequence of events thrown out of gear, and the events themselves distorted in exposition to force them to fit into the scheme of a fictitious theory.

Of the history of Britain down to the memorable siege of the Badonic Hill there appears to have been no connected narrative known to the author of the *Excidium Britanniae.* He tells us in ch. 4 that he follows the account of the island as given by foreign historians, which says he, is far from clear owing to its scrappiness. Apparently there are no British historians to draw from, no British Paulus Orosius or Rufinus, but it should be noted that he does not altogether deny having made use of British documentary evidence. He will write, says he, *non tam ex scriptis patriae,* not so much from native records, which, if they ever existed, have been burnt or carried away, and so are not at hand. He will write not so much from native records *quam transmarina relatione,* as from foreign accounts. Decisive as this language may sound, it does not preclude British writings but even implies some use of such.

Indeed, if we consider his words closely, it is the paucity or lack of native records *in the times of the Roman emperors* that he is referring to. His words are as follows: "Only those evils which the island has both suffered and inflicted upon other and distant citizens *in the times of the Roman emperors* will I attempt to make public. I shall have done it, however, as well as I can, not so much from writings of the country or records of authors, which indeed, if they ever existed, have either been burnt by the enemies' fires or carried far away in the citizens' fleet of exile and so are not at hand, as from foreign accounts, which, broken by frequent gaps, are not very clear." Now a long time had elapsed since the days of the Roman emperors and the crackling of the enemies' fires and the over-sea migration of citizens. First, there had been forty-three years of peace between Britons and Saxons, that is, since the victory at the Badonic Hill. Secondly, there had been a period up to that victory of alternate successes and reverses going back to the days of Ambrosius Aurelianus, who, after the Britons had been bundled into the west, rallied them to their first victory over the Saxons. Thus at the date when our author was writing, there had been ample time and occasion for learned Britons to jot down memoranda of events in their history. Note well then that it is the affairs of the island *in Roman times* for which he lacks native records. If such ever existed, they were either burnt in that rapid fiery advance of the English from the eastern portion of the island to the Western Ocean, even from sea to sea, or they were carried away by those Britons who quitted Britain for foreign strands. Our author is not referring to what historical memoranda may have been written since those fires and flights. And it is one of my objects in this paper to shew that he must have had some such before him.

But first I will deal with the use which he made of archæological evidence, especially for that Roman period, for which he professes himself to be short of native written material. The foreign accounts of Roman Britain being scrappy, he is constrained to seek what the actual Roman remains in the island may have to tell him.

(*a*) Archæological Evidence.

(i) *Cities and Strongholds.*—In ch. 3 he says that the island of Britain is "beautified by twice ten and twice four *civitates*, cities, and some *castella*, strongholds, *molitiones*, laborious buildings, built in an unexceptionable manner, of *muri*, walls, *turres serratae*, serrated towers, *portae*, gates, *domus*, houses, the tops of which, stretching aloft with threatening height, were firmly fixed".[1] In ch. 24, where he describes the Saxon advance, he says, "For the fire of just vengeance blazed, because of former crimes, from sea to sea, heaped up by the eastern band of sacrilegists (*i.e.* the Saxons), and as it devastated all the nearest *civitates agrique*, cities and lands, did not cease after it had been kindled until it burnt up nearly the whole surface of the island and licked the Western Ocean with its red and savage tongue . . . . Thus were all the *coloniae*

[1] The chapter, in which the above passage occurs, is given a capitulum in ch. 2 entitled *De situ* [*Britanniae*]. This capitulum doubtless applies only to the opening of the chapter "on the geographical situation of Britain", although the chapter itself includes also a short general description of the island, its dimensions, physical features, towns, forts, and a reference to its former history. If *situs* is meant to include all this, a still more extended use of the word may be exemplified in another document of Welsh importance, the *De situ Brecheniauc*, early thirteenth century, copied from a MS. at least as old as the eleventh century and printed in *Y Cymmrodor*, xix, 24-27. Nothing is said in this of the geographical situation of Brycheiniog, but there are indications that the document is incomplete.

brought low with the frequent shocks of battering rams, also all the *coloni* with the bishops of the church, with priests and people, whilst swords gleamed on every side and flames crackled. They were mown down together to the ground. And, sad sight! there were seen in the midst of *plateae*, streets, the bottom stones of *turres*, towers, with tall *cardo*, beam or door, cast down, and of *muri celsi*, high walls, sacred *altaria*, altars. . . . . There was no sepulture of any kind save *domorum ruinae*, the ruins of houses", etc. In ch. 26 describing the state of Britain forty-three years after the Battle of the Badonic Hill, he says: "not even now are the *civitates*, cities, of the country inhabited as formerly; but deserted and dismantled they lie neglected until now".

The chapter, in which the first of the above passages occurs, includes much of what the author had doubtless seen with his own eyes, the sea promontories and curved bays, the plains, hills, mountains, the flora, wells, streams and lakes. His eyes are receptive to the physical objects about him, and when these chance to be the work of men's hands, he will try to make them tell their story. The number of cities in Britain may have been a commonplace, but his additional mention of strongholds, his account of such structures as works of great labour, his detailed notice of walls, towers, gates, and houses, strong in their foundations and therefore able to have borne lofty and threatening superstructures,—all this certainly suggests the description of an eye witness. The land is full of ruined cities and forts from Roman times, and our author has seen some of them and may see them again at any time.

It was a sad sight. He could still wander in the deserted streets and view those strong foundations whereon had once stood towers, high walls, and altars. Around

him were ruins of houses, and as he gazed he could re-create in his mind the lurid scenes of their destruction. All this would have occurred long before he was born. There had been peace in his time, ever since the year of the great victory at the Badonic Hill, which was the forty-fourth backwards from the time in which he was writing. And these *civitates* and *coloniae* had perished long even before that.

The *civitates* and *coloniae* to which he refers, are to be sought in Britain south of the Firths of Forth and Clyde. The *coloniae* properly so called were York, Lincoln, Colchester, and Gloucester. Their destruction was from that eastern portion of the island where the Saxons first landed no small interval after A.D. 446 to the Western Ocean, even from sea to sea.

(ii) *The Two Walls.*—In ch. 15 the Roman legion, which after the death of Maximus in 388, comes to the assistance of the Britons against the Picts and Scots, is made to bid the citizens "to build a *murus*, wall, across the island between two seas, so that when manned by a troop it might be a terror to repel the foe and a protection to the citizens; which being made not so much of *lapides*, stones, as of *cespites*, turf, proved of no benefit to the foolish and leaderless mob". In ch. 18 the Romans, who came to assist the Britons for the second time against the Picts and Scots,—"because they were thinking that this would bring some advantage to the people whom they were leaving behind, build a *murus*, wall, not like the other, at the public and at private expense, the wretched inhabitants being joined with them; [they build the wall] in their wonted manner of structure, across, in a straight line, from sea to sea".

These two walls are those of Antonine and Hadrian (as we commonly call them) respectively, constructed not

as our author says after the death of Maximus in 388, but in 140 and 124 (or 211). Whether he had seen them himself does not appear, but he is certainly well informed as to their character. Of the first, which he says was made of turf rather than stone, modern archæologists declare that it is a wall of regularly laid sods resting on a stone pavement. As to the second he knows that it is built of stone, in the manner of the Romans, and that it runs directly from sea to sea.

(iii) *The Forts on Hadrian's Wall.*—In ch. 18 the Romans build the stone wall "between *urbes*, forts, which had perhaps been erected there through fear of enemies."

By the *urbes* he doubtless means the larger forts, contiguous to the wall or generally so, some sixteen in number. He knows that they were older than what he deems the wall itself to be. But why they should have been erected there, he is at a loss to know. It must be remembered that he thought Britain to have been wholly British and to have been wholly unmolested by barbarians till after the revolt of Maximus (383-388), when Picts and Scots began coming for the first time. The wall was built to keep these back, but why the *urbes*, forts, between which the wall had been built, should have been erected there, he could not tell. He suggests that it was owing to some enemy.

(iv) *The Forts of the Saxon Shore.*—In ch. 18 he says that the Romans "on the shore of the ocean also *ad meridianam plagam*, towards the south, where their ships were wont to ride, erect *turres per intervalla*, towers at intervals, overlooking the sea, because from that quarter also wild barbarian hordes were being feared."

The nine forts of the Saxon Shore extended from the Wash to the Solent. They were all erected before the death of Constantius Chlorus in A.D. 306, and not as our

author says after the death of Maximus in 388. There is no indication that he has seen them, but he is well informed of their situation. They overlook the sea, they are built at intervals, and they are towards the south of the island.

(v) *Sculptured Remains.*—In ch. 4: "nor do I enumerate those diabolical *portenta*, monstrosities, of the country, almost surpassing in number those of Egypt, of which we still see some, of ugly features, within or without deserted walls, stiff with stern looks as was the custom."

Here we have confessedly the testimony of an eye witness, who speaks of what he himself has seen and of what may be seen by anyone in his time, of monuments of pagan gods, once honoured but now neglected and shunned like the walls about them. They are the remains of the old idolatry, of the old gods of pagan Rome affined or otherwise with barbarian deities, and of oriental cults such as of Mithras, Isis, and Serapis. Many of these still survive.

(vi) *Coins.*—In ch. 7: "whatever [Britain] might have of copper, silver, or gold, might be stamped with the image of Cæsar."

Our observant author could not have been otherwise than familiar with Roman coins, which are still being discovered yearly in Britain. The complete subjugation of the island to Rome is evident to him from the universal image and superscription of Cæsars on the old coinage.

(vii) *Weapons.*—In ch. 18 the Romans before their final departure urge the Britons "to provide their hands with *peltae*, shields, *enses*, swords, and *hastae*, spears." And the Romans leave behind *exemplaria instituendorum armorum*, patterns for the manufacture of weapons. In ch. 19 there is mention of the *uncinata tela*, the hooked weapons, of the Picts and Scots with which they drag the

citizens from the walls. In ch. 21 reference is made to *hostium tela,* missiles of enemies, and in ch. 22 to *mucro,* a sword. In ch. 24: "all the *coloniae* were brought down with the frequent shocks of *arietes,* battering rams," *i.e.,* by the Saxons, who are also provided with gleaming *mucrones,* swords.

The author is apparently distinguishing between the weapons of the Britons and those of their enemies. The weapons of the Britons are Roman weapons, copied from Roman patterns. He may have arrived at this conclusion or corroborated it to his own satisfaction by examination of such relics from Roman times.

(viii) *Ships.*—In ch. 3 *rates,* vessels, were wont to bear foreign luxuries along the Thames and the Severn. In ch. 4 there is reference to *civium exilii classis,* citizens' fleet of exile. In ch. 15 a Roman legion crosses the ocean to the country in *rates,* vessels. In ch. 16 the Picts and Scots "burst the boundaries, borne across by wings of oars, by arms of rowers, and by sails bulged with wind." In ch. 18 Roman *naves,* ships, were wont to ride near the coast towards the south. In ch. 19 "the Scots and Picts eagerly emerge from the *curuci,* coracles, in which they sailed across the sea." In ch. 23, "the Saxons came *tribus ut lingua eius exprimitur cyulis nostra longis navibus,* in three ships, *cyulae,* keels, as it is expressed in their language (English), *longae,* llongau, in ours (Welsh)." Another company of Saxons follows "borne in *rates,* vessels." In ch. 25 some of the Britons fled beyond the seas "singing beneath the swelling sails".

In comparing the above passages it will be seen that our author is clearly distinguishing between the vessels used by the different peoples connected with the British Isles. The coracle was doubtless a slight vessel, provided with sails as well as oars. The Saxon *keels* are equated

with the British *llongau*, the latter word being from the Latin *long*(*a navis*), ship of war.

(ix) *Ancient Martyrs.* — In ch. 10, our author in referring to the Diocletian persecution (303-312) speaks of "holy martyrs, the graves of whose bodies and the sites of whose sufferings might now be inspiring the minds of beholders with no small glow of divine love if they were not, *quam plurima*, very many of them, taken away from the citizens on account of our crimes owing to *lugubre divortium barbarorum*, the disastrous partition caused by the barbarians. I speak of saint Alban of Verulam, Aaron and Julius, citizens of Caerlleon, and the rest of either sex in diverse places who in Christ's battle stood firm with lofty nobleness of mind." In ch. 10: "Thus when ten years of the violence referred to had scarcely passed . . . . . they repair the churches ruined to the ground, they found, construct, and complete *basilicae* of holy martyrs, and set them forth in many places as emblems of victory".

Here again the author doubtless has his eye on actual sites, where he supposes martyrs to have perished in the Diocletian persecution, or where he supposes the bodies of martyrs to lie. There can be but little doubt that he is referring to the *merthyr* place-names of 'Britannia', which were formerly far more common than they are now and which are still sufficiently numerous, and, in the one instance of Merthyr Tydvil, sufficiently important to make the term familiar to all. They are generally associated with personal names, not only of men like Cynog but also of women like Tydvil, so that when our author speaks of martyrs of both sexes in diverse places, he is doubtless thinking of our *merthyr* place-names, which carry with them the names of both males and females. In *Y Cymmrodor*, xxiv, 46-7, I have collected instances of these *merthyr*

place-names, and it is to be observed that they are only found in those parts of Wales where Irish influences are known to have prevailed. [I shall not be far wrong when I say that they are found in "the regions producing inscribed stones with rude Latin capitals" of which Prof. J. E. Lloyd speaks in his *History of Wales*, 115.] The personal names are those of "saints" who flourished, not indeed in the time of the Emperor Diocletian or any other persecuting Emperor, but in the fifth and sixth centuries, many of them being members of the very Irish family of Brychan. In fact they were, many of them, contemporaries and perhaps acquaintances of St. Gildas, who therefore (densely ignorant though Prof. Lloyd thinks him to have been, *ibid.*, 98) could hardly have supposed that they were victims of Christian persecution two centuries previously.

Merthyr in Welsh place-names does not stand for *martyrium* in the catholic sense, that is, a church raised in memory of a martyr on the site of his martyrdom or over his remains. According to Sir Edward Anwyl it simply meant a saint. "Am ystyr y gair Merthir (says he) mewn enwau lleoedd yng Nghymru, credwn nad oes ynddo unrhyw gyfeiriad at 'ferthyrdod' o gwbl, ond ei fod fel y gair Gwyddelig *martir* yn gyfystyr a 'sant'" (*Y Beirniad*, ii, 135). Hitherto from some words of Zimmer I have understood that Welsh *merthyr* is from the Latin *martyr*-ium bearing an Irish meaning 'the burial place of a saint'; that Merthyr Dingad, for instance, in Monmouthshire, has an exact English equation in *Dingatstow*, *i.e.*, the holy place of saint Dingad. However this may be, one thing is certain that our *merthyr* place-names do not in any way involve reminiscences of Diocletian martyrs.

The author of the *Excidium Britanniae*, therefore, in

considering the many *merthyr* place-names of 'Britannia', would have made two mistakes about them, first, in supposing that they were *martyria* in the catholic sense familiar to readers of such fathers as St. Jerome; and secondly, in supposing that they derived their origin from the Diocletian persecution. It would have been impossible for a sixth century Welsh ecclesiastic to have committed such a blunder, which ranks with the author's statement about the Walls of Hadrian and Antonine and the Forts of the Saxon Shore that they were built after A.D. 388, and with those other equally stupid statements relative to the Picts and Scots that they never entered Britain till the departure of Maximus exposed the island to their forays, and relative to the Saxons that they landed in Britain for the first time some considerable interval after A.D. 446! Much less could that ecclesiastic have been St. Gildas who was familiar with Irish Christianity, and who must at least have met people who knew some of the 'martyrs' after whom the *merthyr* place-names are called. It is obvious that the man who wrote the *Excidium Britanniae* was writing at a much later period, when Irish influences in Wales had decayed, and did not even suspect that the *merthyr* place-names could stand for anything other than *martyres* or *martyria* in the catholic sense.

In this connection it is instructive to realize that the author of the *Excidium Britanniae* seemed to be unaware of any permanent Irish settlements in southern Britain. The Picts and Scots had seized Scotland, north of the wall of Hadrian, before A.D. 446, and had ravaged southern Britain. But when, sometime after A.D. 446, the Britons inflicted upon them a very decisive defeat, the Scots went back to Ireland, whilst the Picts retired beyond the Wall of Antonine to settle there for the first

time! No small interval after A.D. 446, which interval was a period of unpredecented prosperity, the English landed in Britain for the first time and drove the Britons in one amazing, irresistible sweep out of the eastern division of southern Britain into the mountains, forests, and sea-islands of the west. The English had come at the invitation of the Britons because the Picts and Scots had recommenced worrying them. No particulars are given of this fourth invasion of Picts and Scots, but as it is made to occur no small interval after A.D. 446, it may point to the advent of the Dalriad Scots in Cantire under Fergus mac Erc. At any rate, the author of the *Excidium Britanniae* nowhere gives any indication that he knew of Irish settlements in Wales. No wonder, then, that he blundered in his interpretation of *martyr* with its specifically Irish meaning.

Our author states that very many of the graves of his supposed Diocletian martyrs and of the sites of their sufferings had fallen into the hands of the barbarians, which he might very reasonably have calculated must have been so, seeing that according to him the whole island of Britain from Totnes to Caithness was occupied by the Britons under Roman rule until after the revolt of Maximus in A.D. 383-8. If there were numerous martyr sites still left in Wales, how many more must there not have been in the rest of Britain whence the Britons had been driven out! Our author, then, might simply have concluded from the *merthyr* place-names of Wales (as of Julius and Aaron at Caerlleon) that there must have been similar martyr sites in England (as perhaps at that time of Alban at Verulam) and in Scotland as well, which had been captured by the barbarians. This may have been all that he meant. But he here uses a very peculiar phrase. He speaks of graves having been taken away owing to a

lugubre divortium, a disastrous partition, a 'divorce', a cutting-asunder, caused by the barbarians. The word *divortium*, 'divorce', seems too specific to mean the general destruction of the island. May it not refer to some specially disastrous cutting-asunder of Britons, such as we have all hitherto fancied ensued on the Battle of Dyrham in A.D. 577 when the West-Saxons successfully penetrated the tripolitan area of Gloucester, Cirencester, and Bath, and 'divorced' the Britons of Wales from those of the Devonian peninsula? If Britons or Irish really did occupy this tripolitan area, we might here find room for lost *merthyr* place-names, an extension eastwards of the *merthyr* place-names of Monmouthshire.

(x) *Retreats of persecuted Christians.*—In ch. 11, our author says that those who survived the Diocletian persecution "hid themselves in *silvae*, woods, and in *deserta*, deserts, and in secret *spelunca*, caves".

Ever since the Christian religion triumphed in 'Britannia' there have existed place-names of woods, deserts, and caves, associated with 'saints'. The Latin *desertum* has become the Welsh place-name *dyserth*, meaning a wild desolate spot adopted for religious retirement by some Christian eremite. We have to-day such places as *ogof Edi*, St. Edi's cave, and *Gelli Cawrdaf*, St. Cawrdav's wood. In such place-names our author might very possibly have seen evidences of Christian persecution in Britain as he doubtless did in the *merthyr* place-names. I cannot refrain in this connection from quoting some words of that excellent Welsh clergyman, Carnhuanawc, writing between 1836 and 1842. He says, "Pe buasai hanes y wlad hon yn amser Diocletianus ar glawr mewn cyflwr o gyflawnder, diameu y gwelsem amryw enghreifftiau o ferthyrdod a dioddefaint. Ac am fod yr ychydig hysbysiad a roddir gan awdur yr *Excidium Britanniae* yn

mynegi i'r Cristionogion orfod *ffoi i'r coedydd a'r llefydd anial a'r ogfeydd celedig*, y mae'n ddilys y buasai gennym yr awrhon goffadwriaeth am ddefnyddiad amryw leoedd adnabyddys yn ein plith i'r cyfryw ddiogeliad. Ac y mae ynof duedd cryf i feddwl fod rhai ogfeydd yng Nghymru eto yn dwyn arnodiad o'r cyfryw wasanaeth neu o ryw un cyffelyb". There is no foundation, however, for this belief. As in the case of the merthyrs, the saintly names associated with wood and rock retreats are those of fifth and sixth century ecclesiastics.

(*b*) Indications of Native Records and Traditions.

(i) Among these we must class the *Epistolae ad Agitium*, the Letter to Agitius. Agitius is Aëtius (wrongly spelt in transcription), chief minister of the Western Empire under Placidia and Valentinian. He was four times consul, to wit, in 432, 437, 446, and 454. In 455 he was assassinated by Valentinian himself. The author of the *Excidium Britanniae* must have had access to a copy of the letter sent by the Britons to this Aëtius, and as Aëtius is described in it as *ter consul*, consul for the third time, we are fortunately furnished with an important date which helps us to determine the chronological framework of the narrative of the *Excidium Britanniae.* Only a portion of the letter is given, which is made to represent the misery of Britain owing to the ravages of Picts and Scots. It begins as follows: *Agitio ter consuli gemitus Britannorum*, to Agitius in his third consulship, the Groans of the Britons. That the author of the *Excidium Britanniae* was actually quoting from a copy of the very letter, is proved by the fact that he tells us he is skipping a passage before going on with his quotation. Then: "*the barbarians drive us to the sea, the sea drives us to the barbarians; between these two sorts of deaths we either have our throats cut or are drowned*". And

again the author instead of quoting gives the sense, to the effect that the Britons assert they have no aid. Now as Aëtius was consul for the third time in A.D. 446 this letter must have been written any time from that year to the year when he became consul for the fourth time, *i.e.*, A.D. 454. In other words, the letter was written and sent not earlier than A.D. 446 and not later than A.D. 453. And as it was in this interval (*circa* 447) that St. Germanus of Auxerre came to Britain for the second time, who, we know, did go afterwards to Ravenna to intercede with Aëtius for the peace of Armorica (*Vita s. Germani*, II, i, 62), we may not unreasonably believe that he at the same time carried with him "the Groans of the Britons". The author of the *Excidium Britanniae* is making too great a demand on our credulity when he would have us believe that the barbarians mentioned in the letter were only the Picts and Scots. We know from other and better sources that the Saxons too were busy in Britain at this time. But our author would make no small interval intervene between the despatch of the Letter to Aëtius and the first landing of the Saxons. He tells us that after the Letter to Aetius in 446 the Britons won their first victory over the Picts and Scots. The Scots retired to Ireland, whilst the Picts withdrew to north Scotland to settle there for the first time! Then followed a period of unprecedented prosperity, and the narrative demands that it should be no small period. Only at its termination did the Saxons come. Whatever may be thought of this, one thing is certain that the author of the *Excidium Britanniae* was quite clear in his own mind, although he may not have managed to make it so clear to us, as to the year when he conceived the English to have landed for the first time in the island. It was no small interval after A.D. 446.

(ii) It is evident that in his account of St. Alban our author is quoting from some *Passio Albani.* It is the only part of his narrative where the miraculous element is introduced, and at this point he seems to imply the presence of a Roman army in the island which he certainly does not do elsewhere except in his account of Maximus, where also he appears to be following some written account. Whether the *Passio* was of British or continental origin is not so certain. St. Alban was certainly known in Gaul in the sixth century as evidenced by the poem of Fortunatus (Bede's *H.E.*, i, 7), and also in the fifth century, for Constantius makes St. Germanus visit St. Alban's tomb in his *Vita S. Germani.* Possibly, therefore, the *Passio* was compiled in Gaul. This may account for the mention of the Thames as the river which the saint crossed. It is significant that Bede, who fixes the site of the martyrdom at Verulamium, does not name the river. The *Excidium Britanniae* names the river, which, as I have said, is the Thames, but does not fix the site. Alban is only said to have been of Verulamium. There is evidence that the site was really Mount St. Albans, nearly two miles N.E. of Caerlleon in Monmouthshire, and that the river was the Usk. The two other martyrs mentioned, Aaron and Julius, both of Caerlleon, may have figured with Alban in one and the same incident. However this may be, the *Passio Albani*, from which our author is drawing, does not strike one as being particularly British.[1]

[1] In my notes on St. Alban's near Caerlleon (*Arch. Camb.*, 1905, pp. 256-9; *Y Cymmrodor*, xxii, 75, n. 6) I overlooked the additional evidence of Giraldus Cambrensis, who passed through Caerlleon in A.D. 1188. He tells us (*Itinerarium Kambriae*, i, 5): "Here lie two noble persons, the leading proto-martyrs of Great Britain after Alban and Amphibalus, adorned in this place with the martyr's crown, to wit, Julius and Aaron, each of whom had a fine church in the city,

(iii) Maximus proceeds to the Gauls with *magna satellitum caterva*, a great crowd of followers. Our author is using expressions here which go contrary to the trend of what he has hitherto said. Maximus is started on his rebellious career by *tumultuans miles*, a turbulent soldiery. He takes away with him *omnis armatus miles*, all the armed soldiery, *militares copiae*, the military supplies, the *rectores*, rulers (or as he called them before *praepositi*, overseers), cruel though they had been, and the able-bodied youth. In the words *tumultuans miles*, *armatus miles*, *militares copiae*, and *rectores*, history seems to be peeping through the narrative as though the author were for a moment quitting

distinguished by his own name. *For in ancient times there were three excellent churches in this city*, one of the martyr Julius graced with a choir of virgins dedicated to God; another raised to the name of his blessed companion Aaron and enriched by a renowned order of canons; *and the third distinguished as the metropolitan see of all Wales*". This, of course, is clearly reminiscent of Geoffrey's *H.R.B.*, ix, 12, as quoted and translated by me in *Y Cymmrodor*, xxii, 57. But there is a striking difference. Geoffrey says there were *two* churches *and a school of astronomical philosophers*. Giraldus says there were *three* churches, *the third distinguished as the metropolitan see of all Wales*. The three sites referred to are without doubt the three chapels mentioned by Coxe in his *Historical Tour through Monmouthshire*, 1801, reprinted 1904, p. 103, namely, 'one near the present site of St. Julian's'; 'the other at Penros, in the vicinity of the town'; 'a third chapel, dedicated to St. Alban, another martyr, which was constructed on an eminence to the east of Caerleon, overlooking the Usk'. The legend of St. Alban demands the proximity of a large river near the site of the martyr's death. Bede, who fixes the site at Verulam, carefully omits the name of the river. The *Excidium Britanniae*, which omits the name of the site, mentions a large river—the Thames. It is clear that before the appearance of either Bede's Book or the *Excidium Britanniae*, St. Alban had somehow been associated with Verulam, the modern St. Alban's in Hertfordshire, for in both works that place is mentioned, and according to Bede a church had already been erected there to his memory where miracles frequently occurred (*H. E.*, i, 7). But that site won't fit. According to the legend as quoted by Bede, the martyr was

his own fancies and quoting some reliable document. Whether such a document was British or continental is uncertain. He adds that Maximus' host never returned. Much has been made of this. It has proved the tiny seed of legend and pseudo-history galore even to the present day. Before relying on it, this important point should be borne in mind that it is our author's explanation of the wonderful ruin and loss of Britain. For many years the island became the sport and prey of Picts and Scots attacking from over the sea. Appeals had to be made to Rome. The north was completely lost. The south was ravaged from end to end. Finally the English had to be

brought to a river, but would not have been able to arrive that evening at the place of execution had not the river miraculously divided. The spot was outside the city (for the judge was left behind in it) and on the opposite side of the river. It is called at first the *harena ubi feriendus erat*, the arena where he was to be executed. Then, when he had crossed the river, he ascends the hill of his martyrdom, which is about half-a-mile from the *arena*! This confusion is due to corruption in the text, the idea of which seems to be that the martyr was led some distance out of the city, the other side of the river, and up a hill situated about half-a-mile from the river. These conditions are met by Mount St. Alban's near Caerlleon.

The importance of the question as to the site of St. Alban's martyrdom is very great, because it determines one of the localities which St. Germanus of Auxerre visited in 429, and helps to elucidate the point as to what that Britannia was which needed purging of Pelagianism in that year. Messrs. Baring Gould and Fisher in their *Lives of the British Saints*, i, 142, say, that the account of Germanus' visit to Alban's tomb does not appear in the original Life of Germanus by Constantius. "It is (they say) an interpolation of the first half of the ninth century; it is not found in any of the copies of the unadulterated Life by Constantius." And again, *ibid.*, iii, 53, they say that "the seeking for, finding and translation of the relics of S. Alban" is not to be found in the earlier life, "and is, in fact, an early ninth century amplification". However this may be, Bede certainly refers to it in his *H. E.*, i, 18, which he wrote about A.D. 730.

called in. If an incredulous reader asks why did not Britain defend itself, the answer is here pat. It was because Maximus drained the island of all its armed soldiery, all its military supplies, all its overseers or rulers, all its able-bodied youth. Not a fighting man was left or even a weapon to fight with. *And they never returned ! !*

Judging from the *Excidium Britanniae* what good Latinists the Britons were able to produce, it is incredible that no historical memoranda of any kind were written throughout the forty-three years of peace since the Badonic Hill, and still backwards through the period of occasional victories to the time of Ambrosius Aurelianus. There may indeed have been no connected narrative of British history, for the scholarship of the time was concentrated on purely religious matters, but it is impossible to believe that there was a total lack of any description of historical memoranda. How else could our author have quoted from the *Epistolae ad Agitium*, which hailed even from the times of the emperors ? How else could he have learnt the precise interval between the despatch of that letter and the year when the Saxons were invited to help the Britons ? I take it, therefore, that he did have some good written sources with reliable chronological data, whence he sketched the history of the island from the Roman period to that in which he himself lived.

(iv) For instance, it seems evident that he had before him a statement to the effect that Britannia was invaded from over the sea by two nations who came in coracles, the Scots *a circione*, from the north-west, and the Picts *ab aquilone*, from the north. Their cruel ravages extended over many years. They differed partly in their customs, but in appearance they were the same, wearing beards and apparently kilts. All this occurred in and about the fifth cen-

tury. Now we know that the only part of Roman Britain which could be attacked from the N.W. and the N. by nations coming over the water, is Wales. The record, which the author of the *Excidium Britanniae* presumably had before him, was a perfectly sane one. It referred to the well-known invasions of Britannia, that is, Wales, in the fifth century by Scots and Picts. In the *Vita s. Carantoci*, ch. 2, we read that about A.D. 432 the Scots overcame Britannia, the names of the leaders being Briscus, Thuibaius, Machleius, and Anpacus. The Picts are well known to us by the name *gwyr y gogledd*, men of the north, including the bands which came with Cunedda. One of the Pictish leaders was Caw, the father of St. Gildas, who came from Arglud, a district on the river Clyde, to Twrcelyn in Anglesey. The record, I say, was a perfectly plain and sensible one. What does the author of the *Excidium Britanniae* do with it? He converts 'Britannia' into *the island of Britain*, and makes the Picts a people living outside the island and attacking it from some northern habitat beyond the Pentland Firth! Not until after the Revolt of Maximus (383-388) did Picts or Scots ever set foot in Britain! Not till after A.D. 446 did the Picts begin to settle for the first time in the north of Scotland!

(v) After the despatch of the Letter to Aëtius in A.D. 446, the Britons win their first decisive victory over the Picts and Scots with the result that the latter returned to Ireland whilst the Picts for the first time begin to settle *in extrema parte insulae*, in the extreme part of the island. As the narrative stands, this means that the Picts now for the first time settled down beyond the Firths of Forth and Clyde! The brief before our author, however, may have stated that the Picts now after a lengthy period of conquest settled down *in sinistrali parte*

Britanniae, in the northern part of Britannia, that is to say, in the left part of Wales as distinct from the *dexteralis pars*, y deheubarth, the south, the reference being to the settlements of the sons of Cunedda from the river Dee to the river Teifi. The decisive victory may be Cadwallon's defeat of the Scots at Cerryg y Gwyddyl in Anglesey, for our author, who knew of no Scots or Picts in southern Britain, would not realize that Cadwallon and his son Maelgwn were 'Picts'. Or it may be one of the Arthurian victories, for as is proved by the precious fragment already referred to, viz., the *Vita s. Carantoci prima*, Arthur flourished in the second half of the fifth century.[1]

(vi) Following the expulsion of the Scots to Ireland there was a considerable period of prosperity. No age previously remembered thé possession of such affluence. Kings were now annointed, some of whom were quickly cut down and succeeded by others. Our author says there was no room for kings of milder disposition. If such a king attained power, he was soon withstood as

[1] For the historic Arthur see sections 4 and 5 of the first *Vita s. Carantoci* printed with translation and notes in the Rev. J. T. Evans's *Church Plate of Cardiganshire* (Stow-on-the-Wold, 1914), 133-142. [The two *Vitae s. Carantoci* are printed as one *Vita* and with many errors in Rees' *Cambro-British Saints*, 97-101.] Here it will be seen that the locale of Arthur is our modern Somerset and Dorset. He rules in conjunction with Cadwy ab Geraint at *Dindraithov*, which may be either Cadbury on the R. Camel (a tributary of the Yeo or Ivel) in Somerset, or Dundry, near Bristol, in the same county. He moves about the district from the mouth of the R. Willett which flows into the Bristol Channel near Watchet, to Charmouth in Dorset on the coast of the English Channel. But we need not suppose that Arthur was confined to the places mentioned in the *Vita*, only that he was certainly connected with them. As Mr. Egerton Phillimore says, all the various hill-forts in the Devonian peninsula called Cadbury, are probably so named after the above Cadwy ab Geraint, which means that this king ruled from the Dartmoor-Exmoor line across Devon as far east, say, as the Bristol and Wiltshire Avons. As Arthur was ruling in conjunction with

though he were *Britanniae subversor*, a subvertor of Britain, which phrase is reminiscent of well-known Welsh ones, Pabo Post Prydain, Pabo the Pillar of Britain, and especially, now that we are in the Arthurian age, Iddawc Cordd Prydain, Iddawc the Churning Staff of Britain.

(vii) This age of unprecedented prosperity is suddenly brought to an end by a fourth invasion of Picts and Scots. As we are now no small interval of time later than A.D. 446, we have probably to do here with the coming of the Dalriad Scots under Fergus mac Erc *circa* A.D. 500. Then comes the famous pestilence, which in a short time brings down such a number that the living are unable to bury the dead. Again, as we are no small interval after A.D. 446, and we know that the Yellow Plague which raged in Britain carried off Maelgwn Gwynedd, who was *fifth* ancestor to Cadwallon (killed at Rowley Water in A.D. 634), we can have no doubt that it is this Yellow Plague which is referred to here and that we are now in the very early sixth century.

him, these must be his approximate boundaries also. The *Vita s. Carantoci prima* also fixes the chronology of Arthur, for being a contemporary of St. Carantocus, who went to Ireland the same time as Bishop Patrick, that is, A.D. 432, Arthur must have flourished in the fifth century. It may also be said that St. Carantocus was uncle to St. David, who was born in A.D. 462.

Arthur is described by Geoffrey of Monmouth as a contemporary of the Emperor Leo (457-474) and of Pope Simplicius (468-483), both of whom he is made to survive, but not later than 492. And this evidence is all the more convincing, inasmuch as the chronology implied is unknown to Geoffrey, who unwittingly contradicts it. But it still remains to be seen how far this chronology is based on the Bedan misinterpretation of the *Excidium Britanniae* that Badon was fought the forty-fourth year from the Saxon Advent. In my *Chronology of Arthur* the argument is vitiated by the view which I took from Mr. Anscombe and which I have since discarded, that the passage in the *Excidium Britanniae* about the forty-fourth year is an interpolation (*Y Cymmrodor*, xxii, 137-8). The evidence in the above *Vita*, however, as to Arthur's period is independent of Geoffrey.

(viii) So the time is drawing near when the iniquities of Britain should be complete. A council assembles to determine as to ways and means to withstand the Picts and Scots. The council with the proud tyrant is blinded, and the Saxons are invited to assist the Britons. They come in three ships. Here our author shows some familiarity with English traditions. First they called their ships *keels;* secondly, there was a prophecy current amongst them that they should occupy Britain for 300 years. For half this time they should be fighting the Britons, that is, for 150 years. After that (so it is implied) there would be peace. Now as peace began with the Battle of the Badonic Hill which had already lasted over 43 years, it follows that the *Excidium Britanniae* was written 193 years after that particular year in which the Britons asked the Saxons to help them.

(ix) Our author of course knew that particular year, though all he conveys is that it was no small interval after A.D. 446. There can be no manner of doubt that he is referring to a real event, which it was hardly likely for him to have known without some documentary evidence. I say it was a real event, although of course he distorts it into the first landing of the English in Britain! Just as no Picts ever settled permanently in north Scotland until after A.D. 446, so not till some considerable interval after this same year did ever English set foot in Britain! The English landed somewhere "in the eastern part of the island," and soon drove the Britons pell-mell into the hilly country of the west, Strathclyde, Wales, and the Devonian peninsula. The truth now peeps out in one of his phrases. He says that after the Britons had been cooped up in the mountains, forests, and sea-islands of the west, the Saxons "returned home". And *cum recessissent domum crudelissimi praedones*, when the most

cruel robbers had returned home, the Britons rallied under Ambrosius Aurelianus and won their first victory. The phrase indicates a good written source from which our author is drawing. The incident, which he regards as the first advent of the Saxons in Britain no small interval after A.D. 446, was doubtless an invitation sent by some British *tyrannus* in 'Britannia' to *Saxones* in Britain. The *Saxones* came and afterwards rebelled and ravaged the British lands. When the *Saxones* had returned home, that is, to their own lands in Britain, Ambrosius Aurelianus, a 'Roman', rallied the Britons and won a victory.

(x) In ch. 7: the Romans place *praepositi*, overseers or taskmasters, over the Britons to make *nomen Romanae servitutis*, the name of Roman slavery, to cling to the soil, and to vex the crafty race "so that it might no longer be regarded as Britannia, but as Romania". In ch. 13: the island retaining *nomen Romanum*, the Roman name, but not [Roman] law and custom", sends Maximus to the Gauls. In ch. 17: again messengers are sent to ask help of the Romans "lest the wretched country be completely destroyed and *nomen Romanorum*, the name of Romans, should grow vile", etc. In. ch. 20: the miserable survivors send a letter to Agitius, *Gemitus Britannorum*, the Groans of the Britons. In ch. 25: "to Ambrosius Aurelianus, a modest man, who alone of the Roman race chanced to survive in the shock of such a storm, his parents being killed in it, who doubtless were people clad in the purple".

Although the author of the *Excidium Britanniae* is careful to distinguish between Britons and Romans throughout the whole of his narrative, yet in some of the passages here quoted there are distinct reminiscences of a very thorough Romanization of Britain. He suggests that the

name of Roman supplanted that of Briton, especially where he says that the *gens*, race, "might no longer be regarded as Britannia but Romania". In the word Romania, he seems to me to be translating from the Welsh *Rumein*. Rumein from *Romani*, Romans, like Ffrainc from *Franci*, Franks, meant people at first, and then country. To-day Rhufain and Ffrainc mean Rome and France: new nouns, Rhufeiniaid and Ffrancod, have been invented for Romans and French. If we suppose our author had some note before him which stated that the Britons were *Rumein* rather than *Bridein* (or whatever the form may have been) meaning *Romani* rather than *Britanni*, he might very well have translated these two words into Romania and Britannia respectively, treating them as places rather than peoples. Still it is evident that he had no idea that Britain was Romanized to the extent that we are taught by Dr. Haverfield. With him Britons and Romans are always two distinct and hostile racial elements. The Britons are the native population, conquered and enslaved by Rome; the Romans (of whom Ambrosius Aurelianus was the last) are the official alien class, placed in power by the imperial government. In A.D. 446, when the Britons appeal to Aetius, they do not say 'the groans of the Romans in Britain', but 'the groans of the Britons'. Dr. Haverfield tells us that "the old idea that Britons and Romans remained two distinct and hostile elements, has, of course, been long abandoned by all competent inquirers". Doubtless this is so, but Dr. Haverfield will have to face the difficulty that the *Excidium Britanniae*, written according to him by Gildas "about 540", differentiates carefully between them.

(xi) A study of ch. 2, which formed originally a 'Table of Contents' to the *Excidium Britanniae*, reveals a well

arranged order of incidents in chronological sequence. Beginning with the Letter to Aëtius we have: *de epistolis ad Agitium*, of the Letter to Agitius, *de victoria*, of a Victory, *de sceleribus*, of crimes, *de nuntiatis subito hostibus*, of enemies suddenly announced, *de famosa peste*, of the famous Plague, *de consilio*, of counsel, *de saeviore multo primis hoste*, of an enemy far more savage than the first, *de urbium subversione*, of the ruin of cities, *de reliquis*, of the survivors, *de postrema patriae victoria*, of the last victory of the country, which has been granted in our times by the will of God. The first of these items provides us with a definite date beyond which it could not have occurred, viz., A.D. 446, so that all the other items mentioned here must have occurred later than A.D. 446. Our author certainly was familiar with the chronology of these events, which he could hardly have been unless he had written material to go upon. The crucial date is that of the Battle of the Badonic Hill, which he helps us to determine, first, by making the Saxon Advent to have occurred no small interval after A.D. 446, and, secondly, by mentioning the prophecy of the 300 years during which the Saxons were to occupy Britain and for the first 150 of which they were to continue their aggressions on the Britons. Now as these aggressions ceased with the Badonic Hill, this battle must have been fought no small interval after A.D. 446 *plus* 150 years. And as the *Excidium Britanniae* was in Bede's hand when he was writing his *De temporum ratione* in 725, the Badonic Hill must have been won at least 43 years before that year, that is, by A.D. 682. We must therefore look for the victory about the middle of the seventh century. Fortunately the date is preserved for us in the tenth century Latin Welsh Chronicle, the so-called *Annales Cambriae*, which has opposite Annus CCXXI the words *Bellum Badonis*

secundo, the Battle of Badon for the second time. Striking out *secundo* as due to Bede's misinterpretation of the *Excidium Britanniae* who fixes the Badonic Hill about 44 years after the Saxon Advent, we have no other alternative than to accept Annus CCXXI as the year of the Victory, which in the era of that document is 665. The Chronological scheme of the *Excidium Britanniae*, therefore, is as follows, and it cannot but have been drawn by the author from good written sources.

A.D. 446.—The Letter to Aëtius.

446-514.—The first victory over Picts and Scots. The period of unprecedented prosperity. The sudden arrival of Picts and Scots for the fourth time. The famous Pestilence. The assembly of Britons invites the Saxons to their assistance.

514.—The arrival of the Saxons.

514-665.—The Britons expelled into the western corners of Britain. The victory of Ambrosius Aurelianus. 150 years of warfare between Britons and Saxons.

665.—The Battle of the Badonic Hill. Birth of the author of the *Excidium Britanniae*.

708.—The forty-fourth year of peace. The *Excidium Britanniae* is being written.

(c) Conclusion.

The *Excidium Britanniae* is a first class authority, only if we realize the true date of its composition. Regarded as a Gildasian work written "about A.D. 540", it is absolutely irreconcileable with all we know from other sources. The many attempts, for instance, to square its supposed evidence with the story of the invasion of Wessex, have completely broken down. That the leading

Welsh ecclesiastic of the sixth century, St. Gildas, writing "about A.D. 540", should have made the English land in Britain for the first time no small interval after A.D. 446, and even the Picts to settle in Scotland for the first time after that same date, he himself being a Pict born near the R. Clyde, is so incredible and nonsensical that only a long series of writers from Bede downwards, desperately ignorant of Welsh affairs, could by the massive weight of their names have imposed a conception so baseless and perverse even on Welsh scholars. The author of the *Excidium Britanniae* was very short of native records for the Roman period, but for the succeeding age his narrative shews that he had some valuable memoranda to go upon. Some of these he grossly misunderstood, especially in the matter of the meaning of 'Britannia', the first settlements of the Picts, and the invitation for assistance which brought *Saxones* on the scene in A.D. 514. But his general conception of the relations between Britons and Saxons from the time when he supposed the former to have been driven into the west to A.D. 665 is sane and historical. From that year there was, as he tells us, comparative peace. The old Roman cities were abandoned and in ruins. Social order among the Britons was steady and hopeful. It is true he mentions civil wars, but these were normal throughout Europe at that time, being the then equivalent of our modern party strifes. As a zealous religionist he was naturally dissatisfied with what was to him the prevailing religious apathy. He was not, however, like the men of St. Gildas' day, above writing history or above quoting Vergil.[1] The general impression left on the mind

[1] The only secular writers, with whom Mommsen can trace some familiarity in the 110 chapters which he supposes to have been all written by Gildas, are Vergil (chs. 6, 17, 25), Juvenal (*epimenia*, 23), Persius or Martial or both (*catasta*, 23, 109), and Claudian (*Tithica vallis*, 19). Of these, *catasta* must be ruled out as it frequently

by his treatise is that in A.D. 708 the Britons of Strathclyde, Wales, and the Devonian peninsula were well organized, well able to hold their own, faithful children of the Christian Church, fond of learning, and producers of no mean Latinists.

occurs in early Christian literature (Williams' *Gildas*, 55, note). Thus the only traces of familiarity with secular authors which Mommsen can find in the 110 chapters, are confined to those chapters (2 to 26) which in my opinion are not by Gildas at all, but constitute the distinct work to which alone the title *Excidium Britanniae* applies.

The attitude of the genuine Gildas to secular writings is made plain to us by himself in ch. 66, where in his censure of the clergy of Britannia he says of them that they are "listless and dull *ad praecepta sanctorum*, towards the precepts of the saints, if at any time they should only have heard what ought to be heard by them very often; and ready and attentive *ad ludicra*, to public games, *et ineptas saecularium hominum fabulas*, and improper stories of men of the world, as though what opened the way of death were the way of life". By *praecepta sanctorum* is meant religious literature, and by *ineptae saecularium hominum fabulae* is meant secular literature. As is well known, in the time of Gildas (*i.e.*, from the close of the fifth to about the middle of the sixth centuries) the Church authorities frowned on all studies of *codices seculares*, secular books. Men like Jerome and Augustine had felt uneasy with respect to the reading of heathen writings, and before long Homer, Vergil, and Cicero were abandoned. By the time, however, that the author of the *Excidium Britanniae* and Bede were flourishing this hostility to secular learning had largely passed away. Hence we are not surprised that Vergil is quoted in the *Excidium Britanniae*, though we would have been had Gildas quoted him.

The Fate of the Structures of Conway Abbey, and Bangor and Beaumaris Friaries.

By EDWARD OWEN, F.S.A.,

Secretary to the Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments in Wales and Monmouthshire.

The document of which a full abstract is given below requires few prefatory or explanatory remarks; its purport is conveyed with ample fulness in the long title with which it opens. A few observations may, however, not be out of place for the purpose of drawing attention to some points of interest that present themselves, and to the bearing which they have upon a much neglected branch of Welsh historico-archæological research.

The chief value of the document lies in the light that it throws upon the disposal of the actual structures of several of the Welsh monastic houses, the fabrics of which have so totally disappeared that if we had to depend solely upon the researches of archæology we should never know of even so much as their existence. Archæology gives no warrant for the past existence of a monastery of Conway, or of friars' houses at Bangor and Beaumaris. Yet the evidence is, of course, both clear and abundant for the long-continued presence of ecclesiastical establishments in all those places; but it is entirely documentary, and is at best but feebly reinforced by the survival of a few place-names which mark with no great certainty the actual sites upon which the buildings of the

monastery or the friary stood.[1] It is true that of the greater number of Welsh monasteries, in the most favourable instances sufficient remains have survived to enable us to obtain a more or less clear idea of their size and appearance, and where archæology has had anything to work upon, Welsh archæology has seized its opportunities, and given us in the long series of volumes of *Archæologia Cambrensis* fairly satisfactory accounts of what the present ruins comprise, and what appearance the completed whole may be conjectured to have presented.

But there are a few of the pre-Reformation religious houses of Wales of which it may be said that they are as though they had never been. Conway is one of these. Conway Abbey has indeed been singularly unfortunate in not finding its *vates sacer*; though Mr. Harold Hughes, F.S.A., has proved quite convincingly[2] that the present parish church of Conway contains portions of the building that was in existence when Edward the First removed the Abbey from its site within the town of Conway to Maenan about a dozen miles further up the river Conway. The latter, of course, is the position of the real monastery of Conway, or Aberconway as it called itself during the whole course of its existence. But not a vestige remains of what was probably a beautiful though it may be a small establishment, seeing that the king himself aided liberally in its erection, and that the buildings were erected when Gothic architecture was about its zenith. The meetings of the Cambrian Archæological Association in the years 1895 and 1911 took place in the immediate neighbourhood, and on the last occasion the members

[1] There have, of course, been small discoveries on each of the sites, but nowhere sufficient to show the nature of the edifices that had stood thereon. Some walling has been uncovered at Bangor (*Arch. Camb.*, 1900, V, xvii, 24).

[2] *Arch. Camb.*, 1895, p. 161.

actually passed by the site but did not consider it worth while to pay it even the empty homage of an afternoon call.

The present document gives us at any rate the reason why there is not one stone standing upon another of Aberconway Abbey—it was most carefully taken down and diligently removed to Carnarvon, where a large quantity of the material was doubtless used upon the works which were in progress there, or was stored for future requirements.

Similar work was being carried on simultaneously at Bangor and Beaumaris on the small houses of friars in those towns that had just fallen into the king's hands.

In addition to the important light here thrown upon the fate of these establishments, the documents give valuable information as to the wages paid to the skilled and unskilled labour employed, and on the prices of commodities. Much too little of this class of information has been made available for the student of Welsh economic history at the dawn of the modern period. My friend, Dr. E. A. Lewis of the University College of Aberystwyth, has been left to labour alone in this field of research.

It remains but to add that the document as here presented is not a verbatim transcript of the original. This in turn is evidently no more than a compilation from the weekly wages sheets and bills, prepared at the close of the undertakings by Robert Burghill who calls himself "surveyor and paymaster", and doubtless occupied much the same position as what we would term "clerk of the works". In such accounts there is much repetition of the same or similar phrases. These have been for the most part omitted, though it will probably be thought by some that too much has been suffered to remain. All the place and personal names are of course given, and much

of the quaint and extraordinarily diverse spelling has been kept. It will be noticed that the weeks are reckoned according to the church calendar, and that though work was going on simultaneously at Carnarvon, Beaumaris and Harlech, the same weeks are not called after the same saint or service by the different time-keepers. A number of other points of much interest will become apparent upon a careful study of the document.

PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE: EXCHEQUER K.R. ACCOUNTS—WORKS AND BUILDINGS.

Bundle 489, No. 16.

Account of works executed in North Wales, 30-1 Henry VIII [1539-40].

[m. 1.]

THE PRINCIPALITY OF NORTH WALES.

Reparacons there made from the ffeaste of Saynte Michaell tharchaungell in the xxxtie yere of the Raigne of oure Souvraigne King Henry the VIIIth unto the ffeast of Sainte Michaell tharchaungell then nexte folowing, That is to witte in the xxxjti yere of his seide moste noble raigne, by vertue of the king's warraunt dated the ffirste day of July in the xxxth yere of his saide noble raigne directed to John Pakington and John Arnolde, esquiers, to be supervysors of the same in manner and forme hereafter folowing.

The Castell of Caern', the King's Hall, Shyre Courte wher his lawes be kepte, the Exchequyer, Treasorye, Keye [Quay] and Towne Walls there.

Imprimis to David ap R. ap Mereduth for ffalling of wood to burne lyme withall		vj*d.*
It'm to Lewes, laborer, for the ffalling of wood, by the space of viij days	ii*s.*	viij*d.*
It'm to Thomas Griffith for hym and his horse for the caryage of wood, by the space of ij days ...		xv*d.*
It'm to the said Thomas for hym and his horse for the carriage of wood by the space of one daye ...		vj*d.*
It'm to Will'm Ffoxewist for hym and his horse for the karyage of wood by the space of xj days taking by the day vj*d.*	v*s.*	vj*d.*
It'm to John Rouland for hym and his ij horses for carying of wood to the water syde by the space of one daye		viij*d.*
It'm to Thomas ap Ieuan ap Hoell for caring of lyme stones to the Kylne	v*s.*	

It'm to Will'm Ffoxewyst for breking of stones to the kylne	v*s*.	
It'm to the said Will'm for making of the kylne and burning	v*s*.	
It'm for caryage of Tange and watching of the kylne ...		xij*d*.
It'm to John Dykon for mendyng of the stone wall of the kylne		ij*d*.
It'm for caryage of iij loose loodes of wood from Redynnocke velyn to Caern' at xvj*d*. the loode ...	iiij*s*.	
It'm for woode boughte by Roberte Laurens to make an ende of the kylne		vj*d*
It'm paide for the cariage of the said lyme from the kylne unto the Shire hall	iij*s*.	viij*d*.
It'm paide for xj hundrede lathis after the rate of v*d*. the hundreth, and ij*d*. more in the grosse some ...	iiij*s*.	ix*d*.
It'm paide for a thousand and three hundreth sclats after the rate of iij*d*. the hundreth	iij*s*.	iij*d*.
It'm paide for xv pecks of lyme after the rate of vj*d*. the pecke	vij*s*.	vj*d*.
It'm paide for iiij m[l] ccc large nayles, that is to saye for every thousande xvj*d*., and vj*d*. for the saide three hundrede	v*s*.	x*d*.
It'm paide for spiking nayles		iiij*d*.
Item payde to Thomas Sclater for the sclating and settyng up of viij[ml] sclats after the rate of ij*s*. iiij*d*. the thousand	xviij*s*.	viij*d*.
It'm paide to Hughe Smyth for a stone and iiij lb. of iron to make the racks in the kychyn after the rate of xiiij*d*. the stone		xvij*d*.
It'm payde to Jenkyn Smyth for the makying of the said racks		viij*d*.
It'm paide to Thomas Sclater for the mendyng of the kychyn wyndowe and dressing of the gutter over the said kichyn		vj*d*.
It'm for nayles for the same worke		ij*d*.
It'm paide for the caryage of xij lodes of claye to the making of the Wouen [Oven]		iiij*d*.
It'm paide to Lewes mason and John Dykon for one day's worke upon the oven after the rate of vj*d*. the daye to every of them		xij*d*.
It'm paide to a laborer to serve the mason by the space of one daye		iiij*d*.
Sm[a]	iiij*li*.	j*d*.

The coosts and chargs that were done in taking downe of the churche rouffe of the late Abbeye of Conweye and the kariage of Stones and Tymbre from the said Abbeye to Caern'

Imprimis payde to Thomas Hervy and Robert ap Willm carpenters by the space of vj days after the rate of vi*d*. the day unto eu'y of them	vj*s*.	
It'm payde to the same carpynters for theire labor in taking downe the said rouffe iiij*d*. a pese ...		viij*d*.

It'm paide to other iij Carpynters by the space of vj days for taking downe of the said rouffe after the rate of v*d.* the daye unto eu'y of them	vij*s.*	vj*d.*
It'm paide to the same iii Carpynters at an other tyme for taking down of the same rouffe unto eu'y of them ij*d.*		vj*d.*
It'm paide to a laborer to carye the said Tymbir oute of the churche and to lode the same uppon horses to the Pykarde by the space of vj days and a halfe after the rate of iiij*d.* the daye	ij*s.*	ij*d.*
It'm paide to Will'm Beisley for the cooste of hym and his horse from Caern' to Conwey for pulling downe the roufe of the churche, by the space of x days ...	x*s.*	

[m. 1d.]

It'm paide to Roberte ap John ap Atha for the freyghte of his pykarde of vij Tonne to carye the said Tymbre by water to Caern'	xij*s.*	viiij*d.*
It'm paide to Rouland Griffith for the fraighte of his Pykarde of v Tonne the same tyme	ix*s.*	
It'm paide to a laborer by the space of twoo days in making clene of the greate sellar under the Shyre Hall to leye the said Tymbre in after the rate of iiij*d.* by the daye		viij*d.*
It'm paid to Roger ap John ap Atha for the ffraight of his pykarde at an other tyme in karying of the said Tymber to Caern' from Conwey	xiij*s.*	
It'm paid to a laborer to lode the said Tymber in the said pykarde		ij*d.*
It'm paide to Richarde Maynwaring for the ffraighte of his pykarde loden with stones from the Abbey of Conweye to Caern'	xj*s.*	
It'm paide for the ffraighte of an other pykarde laden with stones of iij tonne from the said Abbey to Caern'	v*s.*	iij*d.*
It'm paide to Roger ap John Atha the viijth daye of August for the ffraighte of his pykarde laden w'th stones from Conwey to Caern'	xiij*s.*	viij*d.*
It'm paide to Richarde Maynwaring the same daye for the ffraight of his pykarde laden with stones from Conwey to Caern'	xj*s.*	viij*d.*
It'm paide for the taking downe of xxxv^{tie} sparres in the Abbey, and for Ale to the tenaunts that caryed stones to the water syde		viij*d.*
Sm^{a}	ciiij*s.*	vij*d.*

Ebdomeda in ffesto Sancti Petri advincla [1st August] anno supradicto R. predicti.

It'm paide to Morys ap John ap Hoell for the cariage of xiiij bote lodes of stones from Angles' to Caern' ...	xiiij*s.*	
It'm paide to John Roulande for the cariage of x lodes of stones from the water syde to the Hall after the rate of iij*d.* the lode	ij*s.*	vj*d.*

It'm paide to the said John for the caryage of other iiij lodes of the said stones after the rate of iiij*d.* the lode		xvj*d.*
It'm paide to the said John Roulande for the cariage of syxe score and xij lodes of sande to temper the lyme in the worke, after the rate of 1*d.* for every four lodes	ij*s.*	ix*d.*
It'm paide to Will'm Ffoxwiste and John Jonson for the cariage of foure score lodes of sande after the rate aforesaid		xx*d.*
It'm paide to John Rouland for the cariage of a pykarde loode of stones from Conwey to Caern' ...		vj*d.*
Summa ejusdem Ebdomade ...	xxij*s.* ix*d.*	

Ebdomeda ante ff'm S'ci Laurencii [10th August].

It'm to John Rouland for the cariage of iij bote lodes of stones from the water side to the worke ...		ix*d.*
It'm to the said John for the cariage of lij lodes of sande		xiij*d.*
It'm paid for a thousand latthis after the rate of v*d.* the thousand and ij*d.* farther in the hole some ...	iiij*s.*	iiij*d.*
It'm paide to John Clarke for xltie lodes of sande ...		x*d.*
It'm paide to Morys ap John ap Hoell for the cariage of twoo bote lodes of stones oute of Anglesey to Caern'	ij*s.*	
It'm paide to the saide Morrys for two fleyks to make sckafoldes		iiij*d.*
Summa ejusdem Ebdomade ...	ix*s.* iiij*d.*	

Ebdomeda ante ffestum Assumptionis B'te Marie [15th August].

It'm paide to John Asshe for the cariage up of twoo pykardes lodes of stones that came from Conwey from the water syde to the Justice Hall ...		xvij*d.*
It'm paide to Thomas Griffith for the cariage of xvj lodes of sande		iiij*d.*
It'm paide to John Asshe for the caryage of xij lodes of claye		iiij*d.*
It'm paide to Thomas Griffith for the cariage of xij lodes of claye		iiij*d.*
It'm to the said John Asshe for xltie lodes of sande ...		x*d.*
It'm paide to Moris ap Ieuan ap Hoell for v bote lodes of stones from Anglesey to Caern'	v*s.*	
It'm paide to John Clarke for cariage of v bote lodes of stones from the water syde to the worke ...		xv*d.*
It'm to the said John for the cariage of lx lodes of sande		xv*d.*
[m. 2.]		
It'm paide for xj hundrede of sclats after the rate of iij*d.* the hundreth	ij*s.*	ix*d.*
It'm paide to Will'm ap Holl, laborer, by the space of twoo days in dyggyng and heving up of claye ...		viij*d.*
It'm paide to Lewes mason onwarde on his payment ...	xlvij*s.*	vj*d.*
Summa ejusdem ebdomade ...	lxj*s.* viij*d.*	

Ebdomeda ante ffestum Bartholomei ap'li [24th August].

It m paide for v thousand sclats	xij*s.*	iij*d.*
It'm paide to John Asshe for the cariage of xxxix lodes of claye after the rate of iij lodes a peny ...		xiij*d.*
It'm paide to the said John for the cariage of lix lodes of sande after the rate of iiij lodes a peny ...		xv*d.*
It'm paide to Lewes mason the same weke ...	xxiiij*s.*	ij*d.*
It'm paide Morys ap Yeuan ap Hoell for the cariage of viij lodes of stones oute of Angleseye to Caern' ...	viij*s.*	
It'm paide to John Clerke for cariage of the said stones from the water syde to the worke	ij*s.*	
It'm paide to the said John Clerke for the caryage of fourtie loodes of sande		x*d.*
Summa ejusdem Ebdomade ...	xlix*s.*	vij*d.*

Ebdomeda proxime post ffestum S'ci Bartholemei ap'li.

It'm paide to Morys ap Ieuan ap Hoell for cariage of vj lodes of stones that were broughte from Anglesey ...	vj*s.*	
It'm paide to John Clarke for the cariage of the said stones from the water side to the work ...		xviij*d.*
It'm paide to the said John for the cariage of viij loodes of sande		ij*d.*
It'm paide to John Asshe for the kariage of xv loodes of Claye		v*d.*
It'm paide for three thousand and a halfe of sclats ...	viij*s.*	ix*d.*
It'm paide for a Barrowe		iii*d.*
It'm paide for xiiij clamstaves to make up the wall betwene the Buttery and the servaunts' chamber ...		iiij*d.*
It'm paide to Lewes mason	xv*s.*	
Summa ejusdem Ebdomade ...	xxxij*s.*	v*d.*

Ebdomeda ante ffestum Nativitatis B'te Marie [8th September].

It'm paide to Lewis Mason for making the stone work of the Hall at one tyme in grosse	xx*s.*	
It'm paide to Roberte ap Will'm and Thomas Harvy, carpynters for the setting up the rouffe of the Justes Hall	xxvj*s.*	viij*d.*
It'm paide for cariage of certayne Tymbre to make sckaffoldes		viij*d.*
It'm paide for the cariage of twoo stones from the churche of Sainte Beblike unto the worke towarde the making of the Hall doore		viij*d.*
It'm paide for ij Stocks to make pynne wood for the carpinters		iiij*d.*
It'm paide to Morys ap Ieuan for cariage of vj bote loode of Stones oute of Anglesey to Caern'		vj*s.*
It'm paide to John Clarke for the cariage uppe of the same Stones from the water syde to the worke ...		xviii*d.*

It'm paid to Thomas Sclater in parte of payment for sclating the Justices Hall	vj*s*.	
It'm paide to Jenkyn Smyth in parte of payment for the making the Iron woork of the dores and wyndowes of the Justice Hall	vij*s*.	vj*d*.
Summa to the huius Ebdomade ...	lxix*s*.	iiij*d*.

Ebdomeda post ffestum Nativitatis B'te Marie.

It'm paid for a thousand and three hundreth sclats after the rate of iij*d*. the hundreth	iij*s*.	iij*d*.
It'm paid for vij pecks and a halfe of lyme after the rate of vj*d*. le peck	iij*s*.	ix*d*.
It'm paid to Morys ap Yeuan for vj lodes of stones caried out of Anglesey to Caern'	vj*s*.	
It'm paid for the cariage up of the said stones from the water syde unto the worke		xviij*d*.
It'm paid to a laborer for one day's worke in dygging upp of Clay taking by the daye foure pens ...		iiij*d*.
[m. 2d.]		
It'm paide for the cariage up of the same that is to wytte for xxiiij loodes		viij*d*.
It'm paid to Lewes mason for parte of payment of the taske for making the Justices Hall	xiij*s*.	iiij*d*.
It'm paide to a laborer for ij days in caring of tymber at the rering of the forsaid Hall		viij*d*.
Summa huius Ebdomade ...	xxix*s*.	vj*d*.

Ebdomeda post ffestum Exaltationis S'te Crucis [14th September].

In primis paid for a thousand sclats	ij*s*.	vj*d*.
It'm paid for xviij pecks of lyme	ix*s*.	
It'm paid for the cariage of the Bateling [? Battlement] Stones from Conweye to Caern'	v*s*.	
It'm paide for the cariage of the said Stones from the water side to the worke		iiij*d*.
It'm payde to Morys ap Hugh for ij days werk about necessaryes done in the kytchin and the stable ...		xij*d*.
It'm paid to Thomas Sclater in parte of payment for Sclating the hall of justice	iij*s*.	
It'm paide to a laborer for ij days work in dygging of claye		viij*d*.
It'm paide to John Reynolde for the kariage of xviij loodes of claye		ix*d*.
It'm paid to the said John for the cariage of x loodes of sande		ij*d*. ob.
It'm paide to Morys ap Yeuan for the cariage of one boote loode of Stones from Anglesey to Caern' ...		xij*d*.
It'm paide for the kariage up of the same from the water syde to the wourke		iij*d*.
Summa ejusdem Ebdomade	xxiij*s*.	viij*d*. ob.

Ebdomeda prox post ffestum Sci Mathei Apli. [21st September].

Inprimis paid for viij hundreth sclats	ij*s*.	
It'm paid for xvij pecks of lyme after the rate of vj*d*. le pecke	viij*s*.	vj*d*.
It'm paide to Roberte Comb[er]bache and John Smyth for ix loodes of sparres after the rate of v*d*. the loode	iij*s*.	ix*d*.
It'm paide to ij laborers the space of iiij days for rydding [and] clensing of the rubbell out of the Hall and Court	ij*s*.	viij*d*.
It'm paide to Lewes Mason for parte of payment of the Taske for making of the Justices Hall ...	vj*s*.	viij*d*.
It'm paide to Thomas Harvy and Robert ap Will'm, carpinters, in parte of payment of a Taske taken in making of the Hall	vj*s*.	viij*d*.
It'm to Thomas Sclater in parte of his Taske for sclating of the Hall	iij*s*.	
It'm paid to John Rouland for the cariage of lxviij loodes of claye		xxiij*d*.
It'm paid for the cariage of xxij loodes of sande ...		v*d*. ob.
It'm to the said John Rouland for the temp[er]ing and dawbing the same claye		iiij*d*.
Summa ejusdem Ebdomade	xxxv*s*.	xj*d*. ob.

Ebdomada post ffestum S'ci Mich'is arch. [29th September].

It'm paide for a thousand and ij hundreth of sclats ...	iij*s*.	
It'm paide for vij pecks and di' of lyme	iij*s*.	ix*d*.
It'm paide to Jamys Smyth for vj sparrys		xij*d*.
It'm paide to Stevyn Bodington for m[1] and a halfe [1,500] of lathe nailes	ij*s*.	
It'm paide to the said Steven for iij stone and foure poundes of Iron	iij*s*.	iij*d*.
It'm paide to Thomas Scklater in parte of paym't of his Taske for sclating the hall	iij*s*.	
Summa ejusdem Ebdomade ...	xvj*s*.	

Ebdomada ante ffestum S'ci Edward [13th October].

It'm paide for xij c [hundred] sclats	iii*s*.	
It'm paide for iij pecks of lyme		xviij*d*.
It'm to Thomas Sclater	x*s*.	
It'm payde for vj pecks of lyme	iii*s*.	

[m. 3.]

It'm paide for foure loodes of sande		j*d*.
It'm payde to Thomas Harvey carpinter	vj*s*.	viij*d*.
It'm paide to Hughe Smythe for vj m[1] lathe nailes after the rate of xvj*d*. le thousand	viij*s*.	
It'm to the said Hughe for iij c. gade nayles after the rate of vij*d*. the c.		xxj*d*.
It'm paide to the said Hughe for ij c spike nayle after the rate of iiij*d*. the hundredth		viij*d*.

It'm paid to the said Hughe for di. c. [50] borde nayle ...		ij*d.*
It'm paide to John Smyth for viij sparrys after the rate of ij ob. le sparre		xx*d.*
It'm paide to Thomas Becke for c. and di. [1½ cwt.] of Iron after the rate of vij*s.* vj*d.* the hundreth [cwt.] ...	xj*s.*	iij*d.*
It'm paide to the said Thomas for ij Rugs for the Halle doore		viij*d.*
It'm for a hundreth and a halfe of gadde nayles after vij*d.* the hundrethe		x*d.* ob.
It'm paide for a hundrethe of spike nayles... ...		v*d.*
It'm paide for a thousand lathe nayles		xvj*d.*
It'm paide for vj c lathe nayles after the rate of vj*d.* the hundreth	iij*s.*	
It'm payde to Jenkyn Smyth in full payment of his Iron werk to the Justice courte	iiij*s.*	x*d.*
Summe ejusdem ebdomade ...	lviij*s.*	x*d.* ob.

Ebdomada post ffestum Omnium Sanctorum [1st November].

It'm paide to Rauffe Jonson for making the chymney in the chechin [kitchen]	xiij*s.*	iiij*d.*
It'm paide to Ieuan Cotm[er] for a pece of Tymber to the work over the staire from the Hall to the chamber	ij*s.*	
It'm paide for viij c sclats after the rate of iij*d.* le c ...	ij*s.*	
It'm for iiij pecks of lyme after the rate of vj le pek ...	ij*s.*	
It'm paide to Thomas Beeke for a hundreth latthis ...		vj*d.*
It'm paide to the said Thomas for viij c lathe nailes ...		xij*d.*
It'm paide to Thomas Sclater for his werk ...	xx*s.*	iiij*d.*
It'm payde to Jenet Ffrauncs for caruing [carrying] water to the making of morter	ij*s.*	
It'm paide to Morres ap Yeuan for vij boate loodes of Stones to fill and stoppe the hooles in the kaye [quay] after the rate of viij*d.* the loode ...	iiijs.	viij*d.*
It'm paide to the said Morrys and to other laborers for the stopping and ffilling up of the hooles in the keye withe the said stones	ij*s.*	
It'm paide to Thomas Glasyer for the glasing of lxiij foote of glasse after the rate of vj*d.* ob. le foote ...	xxxiiij*s.*	i*d.* ob.
It'm paide for wynding roddes		xvj*d.*
It'm paide for v pecks and a halfe of lyme after the rate of vj*d.* le pek towardes the rep[ar]acone of Mr. Arnolde's chamber and the shire hall	ij*s.*	ix*d.*
It'm paide to Ric. Sclatter by the space of x days in sclating of the said chamber after the rate of vj*d.* le daye	vs.	
It'm paide for a hundreth lathe nailes		ij*d.*
It'm paide for a shovill with a hed		iij*d.*
It'm paide for a syve to rydle the lyme		ij*d.*
Summa eiusdem Ebdomade	iiij*li.* xiij*s.*	vij*d.* ob.

Ebdomada tercia quadragesime.

It'm paid to Will'm ap Ieuan ap Yockyn for iij days worke in hewin and cutting of wood to the lyme kylne after the rate of iiij*d.* the daye		xij*d.*
It'm paide to Thomas Griffith in like wise for iij day's worke on the said kyeue [quay]		xij*d.*
It'm paid for iij days woorke in lyke man[ner] to Richarde laborer		xij*d.*
It'm paide for cariage of the wood to the water syde and towardes the looding of the same	vj*s.*	

[m. 3d.]

It'm to Ll' ap Will'm for the cariage of iij boate loode of woode by water after the rate of xvj*d.* le loode ...	iiij*s.*	
It'm paide to Morrys ap Ieuan for the cariage of one boate loode of wood		xij*d.*
It'm paide to the said Morrys for fyve boate loode of lyme stones	v*s.*	
It'm paid to Will'm Ffoxewist for breking of the said stones	v*s.*	
It'm paid to the said Will'm for setting and brennyng [? burning] of the same kylne	v*s.*	
It'm paid to the said Will'm for kariing of the stones from the water side and loyding [? loading] of the Tange of the said kylne		xx*d.*
It'm paid to John Rouland for the kariage of lyme out of the said kylne to the Justice Hall	iij*s.*	iiij*d.*
It'm paide to John Dyckon for the mendyng and dressing of the said kylne		vj*d.*
Summa ejusdem Ebdomade ...	xxxiiij*s.*	vj*d.*

Ebdomada quinta quadragesime.

It'm paid for a pykarde loode of Tymbre being of v tonne to Robert ap John ap Atha ffrom Conwey to Caern'	viij*s.*	
It'm paid to Ffulke Maynwayring and to Thomas Griffith for the unlayding of the said tymbre oute of the said pykarde		vj*d.*
It'm paide for dygging of clay for twoo days ...		viij*d.*
It'm paid to Robert ap Griffith for the cariage of fyftie loods of Claye after the rate of every iiij lods j*d.* ...		xij*d.*
It'm paide to John Rouland for xvj loode of claye ...		iiij*d.*
It'm payde to Will'm Ffoxewiste for the making, temp[er]ing and dawbing of the wasting [? wainscotting] of the Hall and pointing the same with lyme by the space [of] ix days after the rate of iiij*d.* the daye ...	iij*s.*	
It'm paide to Morys ap Ieuan for a boote loode of stones to the making of the chymney in the kychen ...		xij*d.*
It'm to John Rouland for the cariage of the saide stones from the water syde to the Justes courte ...		iij*d.*
It'm paid for caruing of water to temper the claye and morter for the said chymney		iiij*d.*

It'm paide for xlviij loode of claye to the chymney ...		xij*d.*
It'm paide to John Mason and Lewes his brother for one day's worke on the chymney after the rate of vj*d.* le day		xij*d.*
It'm to Will'm Ffurberor' and to Ric' the laborer for s'uyng [serving] the masons for one daye after the rate of iiij*d.* by the daye le pere		viij*d.*
It'm paide to John ap R., mason, for one day's work taking by the daye vj*d.*		vj*d.*
It'm paide to Ric., laborer, for serving the said mason ...		iiij*d.*
It'm to Rouland Ffoxewiste for taking downe sclats in the kichin		iiij*d.*
It'm to Henry ap Lli' for foure hoopis and twoo turnells to carie up the lyme		iiij*d.*
It'm for xij loodes of sande to pointing of the chymney in the kichin		iij*d.*
Summa eiusdem Ebdomade ...	xix*s.*	vj*d.*
Ebdomada ante ffestum vanus palmar'.		
It'm to Thomas Ffoxwist for the pointing of the chymney		viij*d.*
It'm paide to D'd the laborer for the making of claye and dawbing the said chymney the space of iiij days after the rate of iiij*d.* le daye		xvj*d.*
It'm to Rouland Ffoxewiste in the same weke the space of iij dais		xij*d.*
It'm paide for carinng of water to tempre the said morter		ij*d.*
Summa eiusdem Ebdomade ...	iij*s.*	ij*d.*
[m. 4.] [*No heading of the week.*]		
It'm paid to John ap R. and Lewes his brother and to the other masons for making the windowes, dores and stayres in the Hall	liij*s.*	iiij*d.*
It'm gyven in rewarde to the said masons ...	xiij*s.*	iiij*d.*
It'm paide to the mason for mendyng the chymney in the Justes chamber	xiij*s.*	iiij*d.*
It'm paide unto Ieuan ap John ap D'd Vichan for the ffalling of xvj greate oks at Conwey, for every one iij*d.*	iij*s.*	viij*d.*
It'm paid unto Griffith ap John for the hewing and squaring of the said oks	xj*s.*	iiij*d.*
It'm paide unto the above namyd Griffith ap John for the sawing of the said Treys for iij roodys et di [? 2½ roods] after the rate of v*s.* le roode	xij*s.*	vj*d.*
I'tm paide for the cariage by water of the said tymber from the late Abbeye of Conwey unto Caern' unto Griffith ap Ll'	xij*s.*	vj*d.*
It'm paide to Griff' ap Hoell ap Jhon, Hughe ap D'd ap Ll' and others for the cariage of stones and tymber by lande at soundrie tymes for the Justice Hall at Caern' from the Abbeye of Conweye to the water ...	xl*s.*	
Summa istius Ebdomade ...	vlij*li.*	

Ebdomeda prox'ante ffestum apostolorum Ph'i et Jacobi [1st May].

In primis paide to Thomas Hervy carpinter for iiij dais work in pulling downe the rouffe of Oure Lady Chapell at Bangor taking by the daye vij*d.* ...	ij*s.*	iiij*d.*
It'm paide to Roberte ap Will'm for iiij days worke in lyke manner taking vj*d.* le daye	ij*s.*	
It'm paide Rouland ap Will'm carpinter for iiij days worke in lyke manner taking by the daye vj*d.* ...	ij*s.*	
It'm paide to Ric' Browne carpinter for iiij daies work in pulling downe the rouffe of the said chapell, taking vj*d.* le daye	ij*s.*	
It'm paide to Richard ap Will'm sclater for ij dais woork in taking downe of the sklats from the said chapell, taking vj*d.* le daye		xij*d.*
It'm paide to Thomas Ffoxewist sklater for ij dais wourke in taking downe of the sclats from the said chapell, taking vj*d.* le daye		xij*d.*
It'm paide to ij laborers by the space of ij dais to take the sclats from the sclaters		xvj*d.*
It'm paide to John Smythe for the making of two Iron pynnes		iiij*d.*
It'm paide to Thomas Osbaston mason for v dais work in pullyng downe of the stones from the churche of Bangor, taking by the daye vij*d.*	ij*s.*	xj*d.*
It'm paide to Hughe ap R. mason for taking downe of stones in like manner from the church of Bangor, by the space of v dais, taking vj*d.* le daye ...	ij*s.*	vj*d.*
It'm paide to David Dromme laborer for v dais wourk to take up the stones from the said masons, taking iiij*d.* by the daye		xx*d.*
It'm paide to D'd ap Roberte laborer for v dais work taking up stones from the said masons, taking by the daye iiij*d.*		xx*d.*
It'm paide to John Sadler for hym and his horse for foure dais labor to karie stones from the Ffriers of Bangor to the water syde, taking le daye vj*d.*	ijs.	
It'm paide to Thomas ap Ieuan for hym and his horse for iiij dais worke to cary stones from the Ffriers of Bangor to the water side, taking le daye vj*d.* ...	ij*s.*	
It'm paide to John ap S. Griffith for hym and his horse for iiij dais labor to carye stones from the said Ffrier House to the water side, taking le day vj*d.* ...	ij*s.*	
It'm paide to David ap Will'm for hym and his horse by the space of ij dais to carie stones in like manner, taking by the daye vj*d.*		xij*d.*
Summa eiusdem Ebdomade ...	xxvij*s.*	ix*d.*

Ebdomada in ffesto Apostolorum Ph'i et Jacobi.

[m. 4d.]

It'm paide to Robert Griffith for hym and his horse for iiij days laboryng to carie stones from the Ffriers house of Bangor unto the water side taking by the daye vj*d.*	ij*s.*	

It'm for one gable rope of vj stone and a halfe after the rate of ij*s*. ij*d*. le stone	xiiij*s*.
It'm paide to Thomas Hosbaston mason by the space of iiij days and a halfe in poling downe of stones from the said church, taking by the daye vij*d*. ...	ij*s*. vij*d*. ob.
It'm paid to John ap Ieuan mason for iiij dais worke in taking downe of stones from the churche of Bangor, taking by the daye vj*d*.	ij*s*.
It'm paid to David Dromme laborer by the space of iiij days and a halfe taking stones from the masons, taking by the daye iiij*d*.	xviij*d*.
It'm paide to John ap Thomas laborer for iiij days and a halfe in taking stones from the masons, taking by the daye iiij*d*.	xviij*d*.
It'm paide to Ric. Browne and Thomas Harvy carpinters for j dai's worke to make ij cradels to worke uppon the castell walle	xij*d*.
It'm paide to the Constable of Caern' for his pikarde laden twyes [twice] to carie stones from Bangor to Caern'	vj*s*. viij*d*.
It'm paide to John Sadler for hym and his horse the space of iiij days, after the rate of vj*d*. the daye to carie stones from the Ffriers to the water side ...	ij*s*.
It'm paide to John ap S. John Gruff' for hym and his horse the space of iiij days after the rate of vj*d*. the daye in karing stones from the churche of Bangor to the water syde	ij*s*.
It'm paide to Morrys ap Hoell for hym and his horse the space of iiij days to carye stones to the water side from the churche of Bangor, taking by the daye vj*d*.	ij*s*.
Summa eiusdem Ebdomade	xxxvij*s*. iij*d*. ob.

Ebdomada post ffestum Apostolorum Ph' et Jacobi.

It'm paide to Thomas Hosbaston mason for vj dais laboring on the keye and castell walls, taking by the daye vij*d*.	iij*s*. vj*d*.
It'm paide to Griff ap Hoell mason for vj dais laboring on the keye, taking by the daye vj*d*.	iij*s*.
It'm paide to David ap Hoell mason for vj days laboring on the kaye, taking by the daye vj*d*.	iij*s*.
It'm paid to Hugh ap R. mason for vj days laboring on the kaye, taking by the daye vj*d*.	iij*s*.
It'm paide to John ap R. mason for vj dais laboring on the kaye, taking by the daye vj*d*.	iij*s*.
It'm paide to David Drome laborer for vj days laboring on the kaie, taking by the daye iiij*d*.	ij*s*.
It'm paide to Thomas Ffoxewist laborer for v dais laboring on the keye, taking by the daye iiij*d*. ...	xx*d*.
It'm paide to Ieuan ap John laborer for v dais laboring on the kaye, taking by the daye iiij*d*.	xx*d*.
It'm paid to Gruff. ap John for v dais laboring on the kaye, taking by the daye iiij*d*.	xx*d*.

It'm paide to Rouland Ffoxewist laborer for v dais laboring on the kaye, taking by the daye iiij*d.* ...		xx*d.*
It'm paide to David ap Richarde laborer for v dais laboring on the kaie, taking by the daye iiij*d.* ...		xx*d.*
It'm paide to Hoell ap Dicus for iiij boote loode laden with stones from Angles' to Caern'	iiij*s.*	
It'm paide to a laborer for the cariage of xij loode of sande		iij*d.*
It'm paide to Thomas Beeke for the ffreight of his pikarde at ij tymes from Bangor to Caern' with stones	vij*s.*	iiij*d.*
It'm paide to John Roulland for hym and his horse the space of v days to kary sande and morter, taking by the daye vj*d.*	ij*s.*	vj*d.*
It'm paid to Katheryne Morrys for gethering of viij bourden of mosse		viij*d.*
Summa eiusdem Ebdomade ...	xl*s.*	vij*d.*

[m. 5.]

Ebdomada in festo translacionis Sc'i Bernardi [17th May].

It'm paide to Thomas Hosboston, mason, for vj days laboring on the kaye, taking be the daye vij*d.* ...	iij*s.*	vj*d.*
It'm paide to Griffith ap Hoell, mason, for vj dais laboring on the keye, taking by the daye vj*d.* ...	iij*s.*	
It'm paide to David ap Hoell ap Griffith, mason, for vj days laboring on the kaye, taking by the daye vj*d.*	iij*s.*	
It'm paid to John ap R. for vj dais laboring on the kaye, taking by the daye, vj*d.*	iij*s.*	
It'm paide to Lewes ap R., mason, for vj days laboring on the keye, taking by the daye, vj*d.*	iij*s.*	
It'm paid to Hugh ap R., mason, for vj dais laboring on the kaye, taking by the daye vj*d.*	iij*s.*	
It'm paide to Gruff' ap Yeuan, laborer, for sixe days laboring on the kaye, takyng by the daye, iiij*d.* ...	ij*s.*	
It'm paid to David Drome for vj dais laboring on the kaye, taking by the daye iiij*d.*	ij*s.*	
It'm paide to John ap Madock, laborer, for vj dais laboring on the kaie, takyng by the daye, iiij*d.*	ij*s.*	
It'm paide to greate Richarde, laborer, for vj dais laboring on the kaye, taking by the daye iiij*d.*	ij*s.*	
It'm paide to Thomas ap John, laborer, for vj dais laboring on the keye, taking by the daye, iiij*d.* ...	ij*s.*	
It'm paid to Ric' ap Ieuan, laborer. for vj dais laboring on the kaye, takyn by the daye iiij*d.*	ij*s.*	
It'm paide to Morys ap Yeuan for the cariage of iiij boote lods with ffilling stones oute of Anglesey to Caern'	iiij*s.*	
It'm paide to Kateryne Morrys for the gethering of viij bourden of mosse		viij*d.*
It'm paid to John Griffith for v dais laboring to cut and fall downe rodds in Rredonoke filling [Velen], takyng by the day iiij*d.*		xx*d.*

It'm paide to David ap Yeuan for v dais laboring to cut and fall wood in Rredomoke Vellen to branne [burn] the lyme kylne, taking by the daye iiij*d*. ...		xx*d*.
It'm paide to John ap Hoell for hym and his horse the space of vj dais, after the rate of vj*d*. the daye, to carye the said woode to the water side ...	iij*s*.	
It'm paide to Robert Gruffith for hym and his horse the space of vj days, after the rate of vj*d*. the day, to carie the said wood to the water side	iij*s*.	
It'm paide to John Roulande for hym and his horse for cariing of morter to serve the masons by the space of vj days, taking by the daie vj*d*.	iij*s*.	
It'm paide to John ap S'r Gruff' for hym and his horse the space of vj dais to carye sande and morter, taking by the daye vj*d*.	iij*s*.	
Summa eiusdem Ebdomade ...	l*s*.	vj*d*.

Ebdomada prox' post ffestum translacionis S'ci Bernardi.

It'm paid to Griffith ap Hoell mason for v dais labouring on the keye, taking by the daye vj*d*.	ij*s*.	vj*d*.
It'm paide to David ap Hoell mason for v days laboring on the kaye, taking by the daye vj*d*.	ij*s*.	vj*d*.
It'm paide to John Mason for iij dais laboring on the kaye, taking by the daye vj*d*.		xviij*d*.
It'm paide to Lewes mason for iij dais laboring in poling downe of stones fro[m] the churche of Bangor, taking by the daye vj*d*.		xviij*d*.
It'm paide to iij laborers the space of iij days to serve the said masons, taking by the daye iiij*d*.	iij*s*.	
It'm paide to John Sadler for hym and his horse the space of iiij dais to karye stones from tne Ffriers house of Bangor to the water side, taking by the daie vj*d*.	ij*s*.	
It'm paide to Jamys ap Ithell for hym and his horse the space of iij days to carie stones from the said Ffryers house to the water syde, taking vj*d*. le daye ...		xviij*d*.
It'm paide to Ric. ap Yeuan for hym and hys horse the space of iij dais to karye stones from the said Friers house to the water side, taking by the daye vj*d*. ...		xviij*d*.

[m. 5d.]

It'm paide to the Constable of Caern' for the ffraight of his pikarde laden with stones from Bangor to Caern'	iij*s*.	iiij*d*.
It'm paide for the cariage of one pikarde looden with Tymber from Conweye woode to Caern'... ...	viij*s*.	
It'm paide for falling down of a c [100] oks in Conwey woode	xiij*s*.	iiij*d*.
It'm paid for iij shovills		vj*d*.
It'm paide for iij greate nailes		j*d*.
It'm paide for ij tournells		xij*d*.
It'm paide for iij [cwt. ?] of nailes to make the sckaffoldis		vj*d*.

It'm paide to Robert of [? ap] Will'm carpinter for iij days wourke in making ij sckaffoldes	iij*s.*	
It'm paid to Mooris ap Ieuan ap Hoell for the kariage of vj boate loods of lyme stones	vj*s.*	
Summa eiusdem Ebdomade ...	lj*s.*	ix*d.*

Ebdomada prox' ante ffestum Translationis S'ci Edmundi [9th June].

It'm paid to Gruffith ap Hoell mason for vj days laboring upon the kaye, taking by the daye vj*d.* ...	iij*s.*	
It'm paide to D'd ap Hoell mason for vj dais laboring on the kaie, taking by the daye vj*d.*	iij*s.*	
It'm paide to John mason for vj dais laboring on the kaie, taking by the daye vj*d.*	iij*s.*	
It'm paid to Denes mason for vj dais laboring on the Caye, taking vj*d.* by the daye	iij*s.*	
It'm paid to Hughe ap R. mason for v dais laboring on the kaie, taking by the daye vj*d.*	ij*s.*	vj*d.*
It'm paide to vij laborers the space of v dais to serve the said masons, taking by the daye iiij a pece ...	xl*s.*	viij*d.*
It'm paide to Will'm ap Will'm the space of v days, after the rate of vj*d.* the daye to karie sande and morter...	ij*s.*	vj*d.*
It'm paide to Moris ap Yeuan ap Hoell for the cariage of one boote loode of woode from Riedonock Velen to Caern' to burne the lyme kylne		xij*d.*
It'm paide to Moris ap Yeuan for iiij boote loode of filling stones oute of Anglesey to Caern' ...	iiij*s.*	
It'm paide to Thomas ap R. for breking of stones to the lyme kylne	v*s.*	
It'm paide to the said Thomas for brannyng [? burning] of the said lyme kylne	v*s.*	
It'm paide to the said Thomas for the caryage of woode and tunge from the water side to the lyme kylne ...	ij*s.*	viij*d.*
It'm paide to John ap Ieuan for ij dais laboring to cutte woode in Redanok Velen, taking iiij*d.* le daye ...		viij*d.*
It'm paide to John ap Griffith for hym and his horse the space of v dais, taking by the daye vj*d.* ...	ij*s.*	vj*d.*
It'm paide to Katerine Mooris for ix burden of mosse ...		ix*d.*
It'm paide to Lewes ap R. mason for vj dais worke laboring uppon the kaye, taking vj*d.* le day ...	iij*s.*	
Summa eiusdem Ebdomade ...	liij*s.*	iij*d.*

Ebdomada in ffesto Translacionis S'ci Edmundi.

It'm paide to Gruff. ap Hoell mason for vj dais laboring on the kaie, taking by the daye vj*d.*	iij*s.*	
It'm paide to D'd ap Hoell mason for vj dais laboring on the kaye, taking by the daye vj*d.*	iij*s.*	
It'm paide to Denes mason for vj dais working on the kaie, taking by the daye vj*d.*	iij*s.*	
It'm paid to John ap R. mason for vj dais laboring on the kaye, taking by the daye vj*d.*	iij*s.*	

It'm paide to Hugh ap R. mason for vj dais laboring on the kaie, taking vj*d.* the daye	iij*s.*	
It'm paide to Lewes ap R. mason for vj dais laboring on the kaye, taking by the daye vj*d.*	iij*s.*	
It'm paide to vij laborers the space of vj dais to serve the said masons, taking iiij*d.* a daye to every of them	xiiij*s.*	

[m. 6.]

It'm paide to John ap S'r Gruffith for hym and his horse the space of vj dais to cary sand and mort[er] to serve the masons, taking by the daye vj*d.* ...	iij*s.*	
It'm paide to Mooris ap Ieuan ap Hoell for iiij boats loade of Stones out of Angles' to Caern' ...	iiij*s.*	
It'm paide for the cariage of iiij boats loode of wood ffrom Redemok Vellen to Caern' to Lewes ap Ll' ...	v*s.*	
It'm paide to Roberte Gruffith for hym and his horse for ij dais to carye sand and morter, taking by day vj*d.*...		xij*d.*
It'm paide to Katheryn Morris for the kariage of viij burden of mosse		viij*d.*
It'm paide to Annes ap Meredith for the cariage of water to slake the lyme		v*d.*
It'm paid to the Constable of Caern' for his pikarde laden with stones from Bangor to Caern'	iij*s.*	iiij*d.*
Summa ejusdem Ebdomade ...	xlix*s.*	v*d.*

Ebdomada prox' ante ffestum Nativitatis S'ci Johannis Baptist' [24th June].

It'm paide to Griffith ap Hoell mason for vj days laboring on the keye, taking by the daye vj*d.*	iij*s.*	
It'm paide David ap Gruff' ap Hoell mason for vj days laboring on the keye, taking by the daye vj*d.* ...	iij*s.*	
It'm paide to Denes Roche mason for vj dais laboring on the kaye, taking by the daye vj*d.*	iij*s.*	
It'm paid to John ap Ieuan mason for vj dais worke uppon the kaye, taking by the daye vj*d.* ...	iij*s.*	
It'm paid to Hugh ap R. mason for vj dais working uppon the kaye, taking vj*d.* the daye ...	iij*s.*	
It'm paide to D'd Drome laborer for vj dais worke on the kaye, taking by the daye iiij*d.*	ij*s.*	
It'm paide to Rouland Ffoxewist for vj dais worke uppon the kaye, taking by the daye iiij*d.*	ij*s.*	
It'm paide to Roberte Griffith for vj dais working on the kaie, taking by the daye iiij*d.*	ij*s.*	
It'm paide to D'd ap Ric' for vj dais laboring on the kaye, taking by the day iiij*d.*	ij*s.*	
It'm paid to John ap Will'm for hym and his horse the space of vj dais to karie morter and sand, taking by the daye vj*d.*	iij*s.*	
It'm paid to John ap Robert for hym and his horse the space of ij dais, taking by the daye vj*d.* ...		xij*d.*
It'm paide to Moris ap Ieuan for iij boote loodes with stones from Angles' to Kaern'	iij*s.*	

It'm paide to John ap R. for a boate loode of stones from Bangor to Caern'	ij*s*.	vj*d*.
It'm paid to John Smythe for sharp[en]ing the masons' toles [tools]...	ij*s*.	
It'm paide to Katheryn Mooris for getheryng vj bordens of moosse		vj*d*.
It'm paide to Mooris ap Yevan for the kariage of one boate loaden with woode frome Redonoke Velen to Caern'		xij*d*.
It'm paide to Richarde Louelake for one roope of one stone and a halfe, after the rate of ij*s*. ij*d*. le stone ...	iij*s*.	iij*d*.
It'm paide to Thomas Harvy in iij days laboring in going to Conwey woode and to Harloghe to mark the trees there to be ffallyn, taking by the daye vij*d*. ...		xxj*d*.
It'm paid for twoo syves to syft the lyme		iiij*d*.
Summa ejusdem Ebdomade ...	xlj*s*.	iiij*d*.

Ebdomada in ffesto Nativitatis S'ci Johannis Baptiste.

It'm paid to Gruffith ap Hoell mason for vj dais laboring on the keye, taking by the daye vj*d*.	iij*s*.	
It'm paide to D'd ap Hoell mason for vj dais worke upon the kaye, taking by the daye vj*d*.	iij*s*.	
It'm paid to Thomas Roche for vj dais worke on the kaye, taking by the daye vj*d*.	iij*s*.	
It'm paid to Lewes mason for vj dais worke on the kaye, taking by the daye vj*d*.	iij*s*.	
It'm paid to David Dromme for v dais working of the key, taking by the daye vj*d*. [? iiij*d*.]		xx*d*.

[m. 6d.]

It'm paide to David ap Ric. laborer for v dais laboryng on the kaye, taking by the daye iiij*d*.		xx*d*.
It'm paide to Thomas Ffoxewiste for laboring upon the kaye, taking by the daye iiij*d*.		xx*d*.
It'm paid to John ap Madock for working upon the kaye the space of v dais, taking iiij*d*. le daye ...		xx*d*.
It'm paid to John ap S'r Griffith for hym and his horse by the space of iiij days, taking by the day vj*d*. ...	ij*s*.	
It'm paide to Katheryn Morys for the gethering of iiij bourden of mosse		iiij*d*.
It'm paide to Will'm ap Hoell for the kariage of iij boate loode of stones from Bangor to Caern' ...	iij*s*.	
It'm paide for ijlb. of tallo to tallo the roope [rope] ...		ij*d*.
It'm paide to Annes ap Meredith for caring of water to slake the lyme		iiij*d*.
Summa ejusdem ebdomade ...	xxiiij*s*.	vj*d*.

Ebdomada prox' post ffestum Nativitatis S'ci Johannis [Baptiste].

It'm paid to Griffith ap Hoell for vj dais laboring on the keye, taking by the daye vj*d*.	iij*s*	

It'm paide to David mason for vj dais laboring on the keye, taking by the daye vj*d.*	iij*s.*	
It'm paide to Denes Rooche mason for vj dais woorke uppon the kaye, taking by the daye vj*d.* ...	iij*s.*	
It'm paid to John ap Yeuan mason for vj dais woorkyng uppon the kaye, taking vj*d.* by the daye ...	iij*s.*	
It'm paide to David goz [goch] mason for vj dais laboring on the keye, taking vj*d.* by the daye	iij*s.*	
It'm paide to John ap Madock for sixe dais laboring on the kaye, taking iiij*d.* by the daye	ij*s.*	
It'm paide to David Drome for laboring on the kaye by the space of vj days, taking iiij*d.* le daye ...	ij*s.*	
It'm paide to David ap Ll' laborer for vj dais worke upon the kaye, taking by the daye iiij*d.*	ij*s.*	
It'm paide to John Ffyvyon [? Vivian] for v dais laboring on the kaye, taking by the daye iiij*d.* ...		xx*d.*
It'm paide to John ap Ric. laborer for iiij dais working uppon the kaie, taking by the daye iiij*d.* ...		xvj*d.*
It'm to Katheryn Morys for vj bourden of mosse ...		vj*d.*
It'm paide to John ap S'r Griffith for hym and his horse the space [of] iiij dais, taking vj*d.* by the daye ...	ij*s.*	
It'm paide for iiij smale roopes		iiij*d.*
It'm paide for the mending of one tornell		ij*d.*
It'm paide for the kariage of water to slake the lyme ...		iiij*d.*
Summa ejusdem ebdomade ...	xxvij*s.*	iiij*d.*

Ebdomada in ffesto Translacionis S'ci Thome [3rd July].

It'm paide to Hoell mason for vj dais laboring on the kaye, taking vj*d.* by the daye	iij*s.*	
It'm paid to David ap Hoell mason for vj dais laboring on the kaye, taking by the daye vj*d.*	iij*s.*	
It'm paide to Denes Roche mason for vj dais laboring on the kaie, takyng by the day vj*d.*	iij*s.*	
It'm to John ap Yeuan mason for vj dais laboring on the kaye, taking by the daye vj*d.*	iij*s.*	
It'm paide to D'd goch mason for vj dais laboring on the kaye, taking by the daye v*d.*	ij*s.*	v*d.*[1]
It'm paide to David Drome laborer for vj dais laboring on the kaye, taking by the day iiij*d.*	ij*s.*	
It'm paide to D'd ap Ll' laborer for vj days laboring on the kaye, taking iiij*d.* le daye	ij*s.*	
It'm to John ap Madocke for vi dais laboring on the kaie, taking iiij*d.* le daye	ij*s.*	
It'm paide to John ap Ric' laborer for vj days laboring on the kaye, taking iiij*d.* le daye	ijs.	
It'm to Will'm ap Griffith for vj days laboring on the kaye, taking by the daye iiij*d.*	ij*s.*	

[1] Should be vj, but in total as v.

It'm paide to John ap S'r John Gruff' for vj dais laboring for hym and hys horse, taking by the day vj*d.*, to cary sande and morter	iij*s.*	
It'm paide to John ap Ieuan for hym and his horse the space of iij days and a halfe to cary sand and morter, taking also vj*d.* le daye		xxj*d.*

[m. 7.]

It'm paide to Katerin Moris for sixe bourden of mosse ...		vj*d.*
It'm paid to Richarde Sparrowe for one boote [boat] laden within stones from Bangor to Caern' ...		xij*d.*
It'm paide to Morys ap Yeuan ap Hoell, for one boote laden with stones from Bangor to Caern' ...		xij*d.*
It'm payde for mendyng of one turnell		ij*d.*
It'm paide to Katheryn Moorys for kariing of water to slake the lyme		iiij*d.*
Summa ejusdem Ebdomade ...	xxxij*s.*	ij*d.*

Ebdomada prox' ffestum Translacionis S'ci Thome.

It'm paide to Rouland Ffoxewiste laborer for one dai's wourke in taking downe of scklats from the churche of Bangor, taking by the daye iiij*d.*	iiij*d.*
It'm paid to Richarde ap Yeuan laborer for one day's worke to take the sclats from the sclater ...	iiij*d.*
It'm paid to Jamys ap Ithell for hym and his horse by the space of ij dais to bring the said slats to the water side, taking by the daye vj*d.*	xij*d.*
It'm paide to Richarde Sparowe for the cariage of one booté loode of slates from Bangor to Caern' ...	xij*d.*
It'm paid to Hughe ap Hoell for the cariage of one bote loode of scklats from Bangor to Caern' ...	xij*d.*
It'm paide to John Sadlar for the cariage of the tymber of the Porche of Bangor, and sclats to the water syde	viij*d.*
It'm paide to David Thome for twoo dais laboring to rydde the stable, takyng by the daye iiij*d.* ...	viij*d.*
It'm paide to David ap Ll' laborer for ij dais laboring to ridde the stables, taking by the daye iiij*d.* ...	viij*d.*
It'm paide to Hughe ap Hoell for the caryage of iij boots loode with sclats from Bangor to Caern' ...	iij*s.*
It'm paide to Richarde ap Yeuan ap R. for hym and his horse the space of ij dais to carye sclats and glasse to the water side from the churche of Bangor, taking by the daye vj*d.*	xij*d.*
It'm paide to David ap Will'm sclater for the taking downe the one half of the slats of the cloyster ...	viij*d.*
It'm paide to John ap S'r Gruffith for the cariage of iij boots loode of sklats from the water side to the Shyre Hall	x*d.*
It'm paide to Ll'i ap R. for one pykarde laden with tembre from Conwey wood to Caern'	x*s.*

It'm paide to Roberte ap Will'm and to Rouland ap Will'm for iij dais laboring to sarve the planks for the stable, taking by the daye vj*d*. le pece [each] ...		iij*s*.
Summa eiusdem Ebdomade ...	xxiiij*s*.	j*d*.

Ebdomada in ffesto S'ce Marie Magdalene [22nd July].

It'm paide to Lewes ap R. mason for sixe dais laboring to make the porche of the Hall and by the Chambre, taking by the daye vj*d*. ob.	iij*s*.	iij*d*.
It'm paide to greate Richarde laborer for vj dais laboring to serve the masons, taking by the daye iiij*d*. ...	ij*s*.	
It'm paide to Robert ap Will'm and Rouland ap Will'm carpinters for vj dais laboring on the Porche and the lytle Chambre, takying by the daye vj*d*. le pece ...	vj*s*.	
It'm paide to David ap Yeuan carpinter for vj dais work on the Porche and litle Chambre, taking by the daye vj*d*.	iij*s*.	
Summa ejusdem Ebdomade ...	xiiij*s*.	iij*d*.

Ebdomada post ffestum S'ce Marie Magdalene.

It'm paide to Lewes ap R. mason for iij dais work in making the stone wourke of the Pourche and lytill chambre, taking by the daye, vj*d*. ob.		xix*d*. ob.
It'm paide to John ap Yeuan mason for vj dais work to make the Porche and litle Chambre, taking vj*d*. le day	iij*s*.	
It'm paide to David Dromme for vj dais laboring to serve the masons, taking by the daye iiij*d*.	ij*s*.	
It'm paide to greate Richarde for vj dais laboring to serve the masons, taking by the daie iiij*d*. ...	ij*s*.	
It'm paide to John ap S'r Gruff' for hym and his horse the space of vj dais to carie sand and morter, taking by the daie vj*d*.	iij*s*.	

[m. 7d.]

It'm paid to Roberte ap Will'm and Rouland ap Will'm carpinters for vj dais worke on the Porche and litle Chambre, taking by the daie vj*d*. le pece ...	vj*s*.	
It'm paide to David ap Yeuan carpinter for vj dais work on the Porche and litle Chambre, taking by the daye vj*d*.	iij*s*.	
It'm paide to Richarde Sparro for the kariage of one bote loode of scklats from Bangor to Caern' ...		xij*d*.
It'm paide to Will'm ap Hoell for iiij boote loode of stones from Anglesey to Caern'	iiij*s*.	
It'm paide to Ric. ap Will'm sclater for vj dais work on the Exchequier, takyng by the daie vj*d*. ...	iij*s*.	
It'm paide to John Clarke for vj dais laboring to serve the sclater, taking by the daye iiij*d*.	ij*s*.	
It'm paid to Richarde ap Yeuan ap R. for hym and his horse the space of one daye to carie sclats from the churche of Bangor to the water side, taking by the daye vj*d*.		vj*d*.

It'm paide to John ap Madock and to grete Ric' for the cariage up of iij bote loode of sclates from the water syde to the Shyre Hall ... ... vj*d.*

It'm paide to David ap Hoell mason for iij dais work in making the cubberde in the Hall, taking vj*d.* le daye xviij*d.*

Summa ejusdem Ebdomade ... xxxiij*s.* j*d.* ob.

Ebdomada post ffestum S'ci Jacobi apostoli [25th July].

It'm paide to Roberte ap Will'm for v dais worke in plancking the stable and making the racks, taking by the daye vj*d.* ... ... ij*s.* vj*d.*

It'm paide to Rouland ap Will'm and David ap Yeuan carpinters for v dais in plancking the stabulls, taking by the daye vj*d.* le pece ... ... v*s.*

It'm paide to Hugh ap Hoell ap Dicus for the cariage of an Auter [altar] stone from Bewmaris to Caern' ... xij*d.*

It'm paide to the said Hughe for iiij boats loode of stones from Anglesey to Caern'... ... ... iiij*s.*

It'm paide to John ap Madock laborer for ij dais work in ridding the courte, taking by the day iiij*d.* ... viij*d.*

It'm paide to John Clark for ij dais work in serving the mason, taking by the daye [iiij*d.*] ... ... viij*d.*

It'm paide to Roberte ap Will'm carpinter for vj dais work in plancking the stable and setting the bordes in the hall, taking by the daye vij*d.* ... ... iij*s.* vj*d.*

It'm paide to Roulland ap Will'm and to David ap Ieuan carpinters for vj dais work in making the bordes in the Hall, taking by the daye vj*d.* le pece ... vj*s.*

It'm paide to John Gruff' laborer for iiij dais laboring to rydde the courte and the stable ... ... xvj*d.*

It'm paide to Will'm ap Hoell laborer for vj dais work in ridding the courte and the stable, taking by the daye iiij*d.* ... ... ij*s.*

It'm paide Roulande Ffoxewist sclater for vj dais work in pointing the Hall, taking by the daye iiij*d.* ... ij*s.*

It'm paide to Hughe ap Hoell for the kariage of one boote loode of lyme from Caern' to Bewmarys ... xij*d.*

It'm paide to John ap Madock and to greate Ric. for the lading of the said bote with lyme ... ... iiij*d.*

It'm paide to Hugh Smyth for ij hundreth of lathis ... xij*d.*

It'm paide to Hugh Smyth for half a hundreth of spikins ij*d.*

It'm paide to John ap Yeuan for iij dais laboring on the Exchequier, taking by the daye vj*d.* ... ... xviij*d.*

It'm paide to Rouland Ffoxewist in twoo dais for poynting the Hall, taking iiij*d.* le daye ... ... viij*d.*

It'm paide to Ric' ap Will'm sclater for vj dais on the Exchequier, taking by the day vj*d.* ... ... iij*s.*

It'm paide to John Clark laborer for vj dais work to serve the sclater, taking iiij*d.* by the daye ... ... ij*s.*

It'm paide to John Smyth for the making of the barres for the litle Chambre ... ... iiij*d.*

Summa ejusdem Ebdomade ... xxxviij*s.* viij*d.*

Ebdomada in ffesto S'ci Laurencii [10th August].

It'm paid to Ric. ap Will'm sclater for vj dais worke in sklating the Porche and the litle chambre ...	iij*s*.	
It'm paide to Hugh Goodfrey for v dais work in glasing the wyndowes in the lytle Chambre	ij*s*.	vj*d*.
It'm paid to Holl ap Yeuan for vj trees to bere the boordes in the Hall		xij*d*.
It'm paide to Ric. ap Will'm sclater in pointing the Hall, the space of one daye		vj*d*.
[m. 8.]		
It'm paide to Hughe Smyth for a m[1] [1,000] lathe nailes		viij*d*.
It'm paid to the said Hughe for halfe a hundreth of borde nailes		ij*d*.
It'm paide to Roberte ap Will'm carpinter for iiij dais work on the Exchequyer and Stable, taking vj*d*. a day	ij*s*.	
It'm paide to John Smyth for one lock and a keye to the litle chamber dore		x*d*.
It'm paide to Thomas Hervy carpinter for iiij dais work in making the boordes in the Hall, taking by the daye viij*d*.	ii*s*.	viij*d*.
It'm paide Lewes ap Yeuan carpinter for iiij dais worke, taking by the daye vj*d*.	ii*s*.	
It'm paide to Hugh ap Hoell for the kariage of one boote loode of sclats from Bangor to Caern'		xij*d*.
It'm paide to greate Ric' laborer for one dai's work to rydde the courte, taking iiij*d*. by the daye ...		iiij*d*.
It'm paide to Will'm Poell laborer for iij dais work to ridde the courte and stable, taking iiij*d*. le day ...		xij*d*.
It'm paide to Thomas Gouff' for hym and his horse the space of ij dais, taking vj*d*. by the daye to ridde the courte and stable		xij*d*.
It'm paide to John ap Madock for one dai's worke to ridde the courte, taking by the daye iiij*d*. ...		iiij*d*.
It'm paide for the kariage up of a boote loode of stones from the water side to the Justice Courte ...		iij*d*.
It'm paide for the kariage of a pikarde loode of tymbre from the water side to the Justice Courte ...		vj*d*.
Summa eiusdem Ebdomade ...	xix*s*.	ix*d*.

[*Period omitted.*]

It'm paide to Robert Plumer for saudring and dressing the leade over the Treasure House by the space of iij dais, taking for every daye x*d*.	ij*s*.	vj*d*.
It'm paide to the plumer['s] servant for serving his master iij dais, taking vj*d*. every day ...		xviij*d*.
It'm paide to Thomas Sclater for making a doore goyng in to the leade of the Tresore House, for one day ...		vj*d*
It'm paid to Thomas ap David Hoell for ij bourdes to make the said doore		vj*d*.
It'm paide to Hugh Smyth for a paire of hengs [hinges]		xij*d*.
It'm to the said Hugh for nalis to make the said dore ...		ij*d*.

It'm paide for a lock and a kaye boughte for the same doore		vj*d.*
It'm paide for ij gists [joists] to set under the leade in the said Toure		xvj*d.*
It'm paide for iij burdys [boards] to leye under the said leade		ix*d.*
It'm paid for ij locks for ij doores within the Bell Towre		xij*d.*
It'm paide for an other lock for dore in the Towre Hickhyn		vj*d.*
It'm paide for an other looke for a doore within the said Towre		vj*d.*
It'm paide for an other lock for the kechin doore ...		viij*d.*
It'm paide for iijc. sclats boughte of Thomas ap Meredith for the stable		ix*d.*
It'm paide for ij peicks of lyme		xij*d.*
It'm paide to Thomas Sclater for iij dais working, taking every daye for hym selfe vj*d.*, and to his servant serving hym by the said space for every daye iiij*d.*...	ij*s.*	vj*d.*
It'm paide for a lock for the stable doore		vj*d.*
It'm paide for clamstaves and rooddis for the stable walle	iij*s.*	iiij*d.*
It'm for the cariage of xl tie carrefull of claye to Griff' laborer for hym and his horse, taking vj*d.* by the daye for iiij dais	ij*s.*	
It'm paid to the said Gruff' for dawbing and winding for x dais, every daye vj*d.*	v*s.*	
It'm paide for Irons for the Postern gate		viij*d.*
It'm paide to John Smyth for a dai's work on the said Postern gate...		vj*d.*
It'm paide for a hanging loock for the same gate ...		xij*d.*
It'm paide for iij bourdes to set under the leade ...		ix*d.*
It'm paide to Thomas Sclater for one dai's work upon the same burdys		vj*d.*
It'm paide for iij boordes of v yardes in length for the Exchequier, every bourde vj*d.*		xviij*d.*
It'm paide for iij[c] of greate sclats, at iiij*d.* le c. [100] ...		xij*d.*
It'm paide for ij pecks of lyme		xij*d.*
It'm paide for iij dais work to Thomas Ffoxewist sclater, taking vj*d.* a daye		xviij*d.*
It'm paide for xl tie bourdes to burde the chamber fflores in the Castell, for every bourde iij*d.*		x*s.*
It'm paide for viij gysts for the Dettrs [Debtors'] Chamber, for every giyste xij*d.*	viij*s.*	

[m. 8d.]

It'm paide to Hugh Smyth for ij[c] spiking nailes, for every hundreth v*d.*		x*d.*
It'm paide to Thomas Hervy for v dais working uppon the Detters chamber	ij*s.*	vj*d.*
It'm paide for xxiiij bordes for Eve Towre for the p'son [prison] house, for every borde iiij*d.*	viij*s.*	

It'm paide for c and di. [150] of spiking nailes for the same work, after the rate of v*d*. the c.... ...		vij*d*. ob.
It'm paide to Thomas Harvy for iij dais working uppon the same, taking vj*d*. by the daye		xviij*d*.
It'm paide to Griff' ap Hoell caruing of iiij^{xx} [80] carefull of claye for the fflores of the Detters Chambers and the fflore in the pryson house in Eve Toure ...	iij*s*.	iiij*d*.
It'm paide to the said Gruff' for dawbyng and makyng the same ffloures by the space of viij days, taking by the daye iiij*d*.	ij*s*.	viij*d*.
It'm payde to the plumer for the sowdryng of the valting leade, and for the souder of the same, by the space of ij dais, taking by the daye x*d*.	ij*s*.	x*d*.
It'm paide for one peick of lyme for the reparacions of the Exchequier		vj*d*.
Summa	lxxv*s*.	viij*d*. ob.

THE CASTELL OF HARLOGHE.

In primis to Morgan ap Jenkyn for xx^{tie} trees, price of every tree viij*d*.	xiij*s*.	iiij*d*.
It'm paid to Ric. ap Ffyvyan for the ffalling downe of the said trees, and two greate somers	iij*s*.	iiij*d*.
It'm paide for kariage of xviij of the same xx trees to Thomas ap John ap Ll' and to Robert ap Eignion et al'	xiij*s*.	vj*d*.
It'm paide to Ric. ap Ffyvian for the kariage of iij trees to the pitte banke to be sawn		vj*d*.
It'm paid for the kariage of ij greate somers, the one xxij*d*. and the other v*s*.	vj*s*.	x*d*.
It'm paide to Grono ap Ieuan for the kariage of the sawen bordes of iij trees from the wood to Harlegh ...		xx*d*.
It'm paide to Morgan ap Jankyn for ij grete somers ...	iiij*s*.	
It'm paide to Ll' ap Ieuan ap D'd for viij oks viij*s*. viij*d*. to Merick ap Yeuan for iiij oks iiij*s*, to Griff' ap Ll' for iij oks iij*s*., to Meredith ap D'd iiij oks iiij*s*., to Lewes ap Ric' for iij oks iij*s*.	xxij*s*.	viij*d*.
It'm paide to Edwarde goz [goch], Griffith ap Yeuan and others for falling downe of the same trees ...	iiij*s*.	viij*d*.
It'm paide to Morris ap Yeuan ap Eden' and Gittayn ap John carpinters for twoo dais in chosing of the said tymbre		xij*d*.
It'm paide to the said Morrys for ij dais working uppon the said tymbre		xiiij*d*.
It'm paid to R. ap D'd for ij dais working upon the said tymbre		xij*d*.
It'm paid to Gittyn John for ij dais working ...		xij*d*.
It'm paid to Ieuan ap Tudder for like		x*d*.
It'm paid to Hoell goch for like		x*d*.
It'm paide for cariage of twoo greate trees from Dolgelle by water to the Ab[er]mo	ij*s*.	viij*d*.
Summa	lxxix*s*.	

[m. 9.]

Ebdomada in ffesto translacionis S'ci Ffrancisci [24th May].

It'm paid to Morgan ap Jenkyn and Will'm ap Yeuan for v greate trees, every tree xij*d.*	v*s.*	
It'm paide to Morgan ap Jenkyn for x trees, price of every tree viij*d.*	vj*s.*	viij*d.*
Item paide for cariage of ix of the abovenamyd x trees to Harlegh thre myles of [off], to Will'm ap Yeuan ...	x*s.*	vj*d.*
It'm paide for the kariage of iij trees for the Barrell and other necessaries	ij*s.*	iiij*d.*
It'm paide for the cariage of ij greate gyeists to Harlegh to Will'm ap Ieuan	v*s.*	ix*d.*
It'm paide for the karyage of the fforke to the wynlasse [windlass]		vij*d.*
It'm paide for the cariage of iii greate roopis and ij brason pullis from Caern' to Harlegh		xij*d.*
Summa eiusdem Ebdomade ...	xxxj*s.*	x*d.*

Ebdomada post ffestum translacionis S'ci Ffrancisci.

It'm paid to Thomas Hervy carpynter for vj dais laboring on the castell, taking by the daye vij*d.* ...	iij*s.*	vj*d.*
It'm paid to Richarde Browne, carpinter, for vj days work on the Castell, taking by the day vj*d.*	iij*s.*	
It'm paid to Gruffith ap John carpinter for vj dais laboring on the Castell, taking by the daye vj*d.* ...	iij*s.*	
It'm paid to Tuddre ap Hoell withe and to Gruff' ap Hoell for the sawing of ij roods of boordes, after the rate of v*s.* the roode	x*s.*	
Summa eiusdem Ebdomade ...	xix*s.*	vj*d.*

Ebdomada in ffesto Translacionis S'ci Edmundi [9th June].

It'm paid to Thomas Harvy, carpintor for v dais work, taking by the day vii*d.*	ij*s.*	xj*d.*
It'm paid to Ric. Browne, carpinter, for v days laboring on the Castell, taking by the daye vj*d.* ...	ij*s.*	vj*d.*
It'm paide to Griff. ap John, carpinter, for v dais laboryng on the Castell, takyng by the daye vj*d.* ...	ij*s.*	vj*d.*
It'm paide D'd ap Yeuan smyth for iij iron pynnes ...		vj*d.*
Summa eiusdem Ebdomade ...	viij*s.*	v*d.*

Ebdomada prox' post ffestum Translacionis S'ci Edmundi.

It'm paid to Thomas Harvy carpinter for vj dais laboring on the Kastell, taking by the daye vij*d.* ...	iij*s.*	vj*d.*
It'm paid to Robert ap Will'm, carpinter, for vi dais laboryng on the Castell, taking by the daye vj*d.* ...	iij*s.*	
It'm paide to Ric. Browne, carpinter, for vj dais laboring on the Castell, taking by the daye vj*d.* ...	iij*s.*	
It'm paide to Gruffith ap John, carpinter, for vj dais laboring on the Castell, taking by the day vj*d.* ...	iij*s.*	
Summa eiusdem Ebdomade ...	xij*s.*	vj*d.*

Ebdomada in Ffesto Translacionis S'ci Edwardi [20th June].

It'm paid to Thomas Hervy, carpynter, for vj dais woork on the Castell, taking by the daye vij*d.* ...	iij*s.*	vj*d.*
It'm paid to Ric. Browne, carpinter, for vj dais woork, taking by the day vj*d.*	iij*s.*	
It'm paide to Robert ap Will'm, carpynter, for vj dais laboring on the Castell, taking vj*d.* le day ...	iij*s.*	
It'm paid to Ieuan ap Gruff', carpinter, for iiij dais laboring on the Castell, taking iiij*d.* le daye ...		xvj*d.*
Summa eiusdem Ebdomade ...	x*s.*	x*d.*

It'm paid to Thomas Hervy, carpynter, for vj dais laboring on the Castell, taking by the daye viij*d.* ...	iiij*s.*	
It'm paid to Robert ap Will'm, carpynter, for vj dais laboring on the Castell, taking by the day vj*d.* ...	iij*s.*	
It'm paide to Rouland ap Will'm, carpinter, for vj dais laboring on the Castell, taking by the day vj*d.* ...	iij*s.*	
It'm paide to Richarde ap Browne, carpinter, for vj dais laboring on the Castell, taking by the daye vj*d.* ...	iij*s.*	
It'm paide to D'd ap Will'm, carpinter, for vj dais laboring on the Castell, taking by the day vj*d.*	iij*s.*	
It'm paid for one gable [cable] roope of vj stone and a half, after the rate of ij*s.* ij*d.* le stone	xiiij*s.*	
[m. 9d.]		
It'm paid to Tuddr' ap Hoell for the sawing of iij roods of boordes, taking for every roode v*s* ...	xv*s.*	
It'm paide to Will'm ap Yeuan for the cariage of iij greate giysts from the wood to Harlegh iij myles of[f] ...	vijs.	vj*d.*
Summa eiusdem ebdomade ...	lij*s.*	vj*d.*

Ebdomada in ffesto translacionis S'ci Thome [7th July].

It'm paide to Thomas Harvy, carpinter, for v dais laboring on the Castell, taking by the daye viij*d.* ...	iij*s.*	iiij*d.*
It'm paide to Robert ap Will'm, carpinter, for v dais laboryng on the Castell, taking by the daye vj*d.* ...	ij*s.*	vj*d.*
It'm paid to Rouland ap Will'm for v dais laboring on the Kastell, taking by the daye vj*d.* ...	ij*s.*	vj*d.*
It'm paide to David ap Will'm, carpinter, for v dais laboring on the Castell, taking by the day vj*d.* ...	ij*s.*	vj*d.*
It'm paid to Richarde Browne, carpinter, for v dais laboring on the Castell, taking vj*d.* a day	ij*s.*	vj*d.*
It'm paid to Tuddr' ap Hoell with, for the sawing of one roode of Boordes, taking for the roode v*s.* ...	v*s.*	
It'm paid to D'd ap Yeuan, laborer, for ij dais laboring on the Kastell, taking by the day iiij*d.* ...		viij*d.*
It'm paid to Yeuan ap Griffith, laborer, for one dai's work on the Kastell, taking by the daye iiij*d.* ...		iiij*d.*
Summa eiusdem Ebdomade ...	xix*s.*	iiij*d.*

Ebdomada prox' post ffestum Translacionis S'ci Thome.

It'm paid to Thomas Harvy for vj dais laboring on the Kastell, taking by the daye viij*d.*	iiij*s.*	
It'm paid to Robert ap Will'm, carpinter, for vj dais laboring on the castell, taking by the daye vj*d.* ...	iij*s.*	
It'm paid to Rouland ap Will'm, carpinter, for vj dais laboring on the castell, taking by the daye vj*d.* ...	iij*s.*	
It'm paid to David ap Will'm, carpinter, for vj dais laboring on the Castell, taking by the day vj*d.* ...	iij*s.*	
It'm paid to Richard Browne, carpinter, for vj dais laboring on the Castle, taking by the day vj*d.* ...	iij*s.*	
It'm paide for the cariage of the boordes from the grene to the castell		ij*d.*
It'm paid to Ieuan ap Tuddr' for iiij horse loode of woodes to wynde the whele		iiij*d.*
It'm paid to Tuddre ap Hoell for one dai's worke on the castell, taking by the daye iiij*d.*		iiij*d.*
Summa eiusdem Ebdomade ...	xvj*s.*	x*d.*

Ebdomada in ffesto S'ce Marie Magdalene [22nd July].

It'm paide to Thomas Hervy, carpinter, for vj dais laboring on the castell, taking by the day viij*d.* ...	iiij*s.*	
It'm paide to Robert ap Will'm, carpinter, for vj dais laboring of [on] the Castell, taking by the daye vj*d.*	iij*s.*	
It'm paide to Rouland ap Will'm, carpinter, for vj dais laboring on the Castell, taking by the day vj*d.* ...	iij*s.*	
It'm paide to D'd ap Will'm, carpinter, for vj dais laboring on the Castell, taking by the day vj*d.* ...	iij*s.*	
It'm paid to Ric. Browne, carpinter, for vj dais laboring on the Castell, taking by the daye vj*d.* ...	iij*s.*	
It'm paide to Yeuan ap D'd for ij dais worke, taking by the daye iiij*d.*		viij*d.*
It'm paide for one horse loode of roddes		ij*d.*
It'm Ric. Bangor for one dai's woork and a half for working on the Castell, taking vj*d.* le day ...		ix*d.*
It'm paide to Yeuan ap Gruffith, laborer, for halfe a dai's labour on the Castell, taking iiij*d.* le day ...		ij*d.*
Summa eiusdem Ebdomade ...	xvij*s.*	ix*d.*

Ebdomada in ffesto Jacobi ap' li [25th July].

It'm paide to Thomas Hervy, carpinter, for v dais laboring on the Castell, taking by the day viij*d.* ...	iij*s.*	iiij*d.*
It'm paide to Robert ap Will'm, carpinter, for v dais laboring on the Castell, taking by the daye vj*d.* ...	ij*s.*	vj*d.*
It'm paid to Roulland ap Will'm for v dais work on the Castell, taking by the daye vj*d.*	ij*s.*	vj*d.*
It'm paide to D'd ap Will'm, carpinter, for v dais laboring on the Castell, taking vj*d.* le daye	ij*s.*	vj*d.*
It'm paid to Ric. Browne, carpinter, for v dais laboring on the Castell, taking vj*d.* le daye	ij*s.*	vj*d.*
Summa eiusdem Ebdomade ...	xiij*s.*	iiij*d.*

[m. 10.]

Ebdomada prox' post ffestum S'ci Jacobi ap'li.

It'm paide to Thomas Hervy, carpinter, for iiij dais laboring on the Castell, taking by the daye viij*d.* ...	ij*s.*	viij*d.*
It'm paide to Robert ap Will'm, carpinter, for iiij dais laboring on the Castell, taking by the daye vj*d.* ...	ij*s.*	
It'm paid to Rouland ap Will'm, carpinter, for iiij dais laboring on the Castell, taking by the day vj*d.* ...	ij*s.*	
It'm paide to Ric. Browne, carpinter, for iiij dais laboring on the Castell, taking by the daye vj*d.* ...	ij*s.*	
It'm paide to Ric. Ffyvion for the carege of ij brason pullis from Harlegh to Bangor		iiij*d.*
It'm paide to the Constable of Harlogh for the kariage of xxviij bordes to Harlogh iij miles of[f] ...		xvj*d.*
It'm paid to the said Constable for the kariage of iij trees to Harlogh iij miles of	iij*s.*	
It'm paide to Robert ap Will'm for vij dais laboring on the Castell, taking by the daye vj*d.*	iij*s.*	vj*d.*
Summa ejusdem Ebdomade ...	xvj*s.*	x*d.*

Ebdomada in ffesto S'ci Laurentii [10th August].

It'm paide to Rauffe Johnson, carpinter, for vj dais laboring on the Castell, taking by the daye vj*d.* ...	iij*s.*	
It'm paide to David ap Yeuan, carpinter, for vij dais laboring on the Castell, taking by the daye vj*d.* ...	iij*s.*	vj*d.*
It'm paide to Morris ap Hewe, carpinter, for vj dais laboring on the Castell, taking by the day vj*d.* ...	iij*s.*	
It'm paide to Gruff' ap Hoell, carpinter, for vj dais laboring on the Castell, taking by the daye vj*d.* ...	iij*s.*	
It'm paid for the cariage of ij pecks of lyme to Harlegh from Caern' to John ap S'r Gruff.		x*d.*
It'm paide to John ap Yeuan, mason, for vij dais laboring on the Kastell, taking by the daye vj*d.* ob. ...	iij*s.*	ix*d.*
It'm paide to Lewes ap R., mason, for vij dais laboring on the Castell, taking by the daye vj*d.* ob ...	iij*s.*	ix*d.*
It'm paide to D'd ap Yeuan, laborer, for v dais laboring to serve the masons, taking by the daye iiij*d.* ...		xx*d.*
It'm paide to Ric. Ffivion, laborer, for v dais in serving the masons, taking by the daye iiij*d.*		xx*d.*
It'm paide to John ap Madock for v dais laboring to serve the masons, taking iiij*d.* by the daye ...		xx*d.*
It'm paide to Ric. Ffyvion for one dai's laboring to ridde the leds, taking by the day iiij*d.*		iiij*d.*
It'm paide to Tuddr' ap Yeuan for the sawing of a cviij foote of burdes [boards]		xx*d.*
Summa eiusdem Ebdomade ...	xxvij*s.*	x*d.*

Ebdomada prox' post ffestum S'ci Laurentii.

It'm paide to Robert ap Will'm, carpynter, for one dai's work, taking by the daye vj*d.*		vj*d.*

It'm paid to David ap Yeuan, carpinter, for one dai's work, taking by the daye vj*d.*		vj*d.*
It'm paide to Moris ap Hewe, carpinter, for one dai's work, taking by the day vj*d.*		vj*d.*
It'm paid to Raffe Jonson, carpinter, for one dai's worke on the Castell, taking vj*d.* by the day		vj*d.*
It'm paide to Gruff' ap Hoell, carpinter, for one dai's work on the Castell, taking by the day vj*d.* ...		vj*d.*
It'm paide to John ap Yeuan, mason, for one dai's work on the Castell, taking by the day vj*d.* ob. ...		vj*d.* ob.
It'm paide to Lewes ap R., mason, for one dai's work on the Castell, taking by the daye vj*d.* ob. ...		vj*d.* ob.
It'm paide to Hugh Smyth for a m^1 [1,000] single spikins at iij*s* iiij*d.* le thousand	iij*s.*	iiij*d.*
It'm paide to the said Hugh for a m^1 of double spykings, after the rate of vj*s.* viij*d.* le m^1	vj*s.*	viij*d.*
It'm paide to John a Lee and ij plummers for iij dais in taking downe a rouff and leede [lead], that is to sey every day xviij*d.*	iiij*s.*	vj*d.*
It'm paide to Rouland Thickyns for cc [2 cwt.] of Iron every c. viij*s.*	xvj*s.*	
It'm paid to Hugh Plumer of Worcester for casting and leing [laying] the leed uppon the castell of Harlegh	iiij^{li}	
It'm paide for iiij^{lb} of souder		xvj*d.*
It'm paide for nailes		iiij*d.*
Summa istius Ebdomade ...	cxv*s.*	ix*d.*

[m. 10d. vacant.]

[m. 11.]

THE TOWNE WALLIS AND SHIRE HALL OF BEWMARYS.

Ebdomoda p'x post ffestum Nat. S'ci Johannis Baptiste [24th June].

In primis paied to Thomas Res, carpenter, for cuttyng wodde to the lyme kylle the space of iiij dayes, takyng by the day vi*d.*	ij*s.*	
It'm paied to Hugh Hampson, carpenter, for ij days laboryng to cutt wodde to burne the lyme kylle, takyng every day vj*d.*		xij*d.*
It'm paied to Gruff' Andrew for thre[e] dayes workyng to cutt wodde to the lyme kill, takyng every day iiij*d.*		xij*d.*
It'm paied to John ap Will'm for ffawlyng [felling] two tres		iij*d.*
It'm paied to John Taberner, laborer, the space of two days cuttyng wodde to the lyme kyll, takyng every day iiij*d.*		viij*d.*
It'm paied to Thomas ap Ithell, mason, for two days worke to take downe stones from the Ffrer House of Bewmarys, takyng by the day vj*d.*		xij*d.*
It'm paied to D'd ap Ll'n, mason, for ij dayes worke to take downe stones ffrom the Ffryers of Bewmarys, taking by the day vj*d.*		xij*d.*

It'm paid to Hoell ap D'd laboryng two days to take stones ffrom the seid masons, takyng by the day iiij*d*.		viij*d*.
It'm paied to Roland Abrettell for ij botte lodes of stones from the Ffriers to the key		xvj*d*.
It'm paied to John Inggr'm [Ingram] for vj bott lods of stones from the seid Ffriers unto the key ...	ij*s*.	
It m paied to Gilb't Roby[n]son for certen wodde to brane [burn] the lyme kyll, in grose	xx*s*.	
It'm paied to John Tabernar the space of ij dayes, takyng by the day iiij*d*.		viij*d*.
It'm paied for ij seves to sift the lyme		iiij*d*.
It'm paied to Ieuan ap D'd for the cariage of xij tres ffrom the seid Ffryers to the lyme kyll, in grose ...	iij*s*.	ij*d*.
It'm paied to D'd ap Ll'n, laborer, for iiij days worke, takyng by the day iiij*d*.		xvj*d*.
Summa eiusdem Ebdomade ...	xxxvj*s*.	v*d*.

Ebdomoda prox' post ffestum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli [29th June].

It'm paied to Gruff' ap Hoell, mason, for vj days workyng on the walles, takyng vij*d*. le day	iij*s*.	vj*d*.
It'm paied to Denys Roche, mason, for vj days workyng on the walls, takyng by the day vj*d*. ob. ...	iij*s*.	iij*d*.
It'm paied to John ap Ieuan, mason, for vj days workyng on the walls, takyng every day vj*d*. ob. ...	iij*s*.	iij*d*.
It'm paied to Will'm Smyth, laborer, the space of iiij dayes, takyng every day iiij*d*.		xvj*d*.
It'm paied to Hugh ap Richard for vj days laboryng on the key, takyng by day iiij*d*.	ij*s*.	
It'm paied to Richard ap Thomas for iij days laboryng on the key, takyng every day iiij*d*.		xij*d*.
It'm paied to Morgan ap Will'm for thre days laboryng on the Towne Walls, takyng le day iiij*d*. ...		xij*d*.
It'm paied to Harry Tarboke, smyth, for one mattok ...		vj*d*.
It'm paied to John ap Ris, laborer, the space of v days, takyng every day iiij*d*.		xx*d*.
It'm paied to John Phivion [? Vivian] the space of vj dayes to cutt wodde to brane the lyme kyll, takyng by the day iiij*d*.	ij*s*.	
It'm paied to John Taberner the space of vj days to cutt wodde to brane the lyme kyll, takyng by the day iiij*d*.	ij*s*.	
It'm paied to Richard ap Will'm the space of vj dayes to cut woode to brane under the lyme kyll, takyng by the day iiij*d*.	ij*s*.	
It'm paied to Harry Hova, laborer, the space of vj dayes workyng on the keys, takyng every day iiij*d*. ...	ij*s*.	
It'm paied to John Alye, carpenter, the space of vj days worke, takyng every day vj*d*. in makyng the house for the masons to worke	iij*s*.	

It'm paied to D'd ap Ll'n, mason, the space of vj days work in takyng downe stones ffrom the Ffryers of Bewmaris, takyng by the day vj*d.*	iij*s.*
It'm paied to Will'm ap Ieuan for hym and his vj oxen and ij horses the spase of thre days to cary wodde to the lyme kylle	iii*s.* viij*d.*
It'm paied to Gylbert Robynson for the cariage of stones to the lyme kyll and brekyng of the same stones, in grose	xvj*s.* viij*d.*
It'm paied to Ric' ap Grono for vj days worke in settyng the lyme kyll, takyng every day vj*d.*	iij*s.*

[m. 11*d.*]

It'm paied to John Ingram for the cariage of vi botte lods of stones from the Ffryers of Bewmaries to the key	xx*d.*
It'm paied to John ap Tud' for hym and his horse the space of ij days, takyng every day vj*d.*, to cary stones from the water syde to the key	xii*d.*
Summa eiusdem Ebdomade ...	lvij*s.* vj*d.*

Ebdomoda prox' post ffestum Translacionis S'ci Martini [4th July].

It'm paied to Gruff. ap Hoell, mason, the space of vj days worke on the key, takyng every day vij*d.* ...	iij*s.* vj*d.*
It'm paied to Denys Roche, mason, the space of 6 days workying on the key, takyng every day vj*d.* ob. ...	iij*s.* iij*d.*
It'm paied to John ap Ieuan, mason, for vj days workyng on the key, takyng every day vj*d.* ob. ...	iii*s.* iij*d.*
It'm paied to Rob't Roche, mason, for vj days workyng on the key, takyng every day vj*d.*	iij*s.*
It'm paied to D'd ap Ll'n, mason, for iij days in pollyng downe stones from the Ffriers of Bangor, takyng every day vj*d.*	xviij*d.*
It'm paied to Thomas ap Ieuan, laborer, for iij days worke to take downe stones from the seid masons, takyng every day iiij*d.*	xij*d.*
It'm paied to Hugh Hampson and Roland Abretell, for the cariage of one botte lode with stones from Bangor to Bewmarries	xxij*d.*
It'm paied to Will'm Smyth and John Mansman [? Manxman] for the cariage of xvj bott lods of stones ffrom the Ffryers of Bewmarries to the key	v*s.* iiij*d.*
It'm paied to Gruff' Andrew, laborer, for iiij days worke on the key, takyng every day iiij*d.*	xvj*d.*
It'm paied to D'd ap Ric' for v days worke in branyng [burning] of lyme, takyng every day vj*d.* ...	ij*s.* vj*d.*
It'm paied to the seid D'd ap Ric' for watchyng the lyme kyll the space of iij nyghts, takyng for every nyght vj*d.*	xviij*d.*
It'm paied to Harry Holl's for iij nyghts watchyng the lyme kyll, takyng iiij*d.* every nyght	xij*d.*
It'm paied to Hugh ap Res for the carriage of tangs [?] to the lyme kyll, in grose	iiij*s.*

It'm paied to John Ingram for the carriage of ix botts lade with stones ffrom the Ffryers of Bewmaries to the key	iij*s*.	
It'm paied to Richard Johnson for one barrell of polls [poles] to brane the lyme kyll		vij*d*.
It'm paied for rodds to bynde the house where the masons dyd worke in		vij*d*.
It'm paied for naylls		iij*d*.
It'm paied to D'd ap Richard for hym and his man and their ij horses the space of iij days to cary stones from the Ffryers of Bewmarries to the key		iij*s*.
It'm paied to John ap Ieuan for hym and hys man and their ij horses the space of iiij days to carie stones from the Ffryers of Bangor to the water side, taking by the day every of them vj*d*.	iiij*s*.	
Summa eiusdem Ebdomode	xliiij*s*.	v*d*.

Ebdomoda prox' post ffestum S'ci P'nati m'ris [*sic*].

It'm paied to Gruff' ap Hoell, mason, for vj days workyng on the key, takyng vij*d*. every day	iij*s*.	vj*d*.
It'm paied to John ap Ieuan, mason, for vj days workyng on the key, takyng vj*d*. ob. every day	iij*s*.	iij*d*.
It'm paied to Denys Roche, mason, for vj days workyng on the key, takyng every day vj*d*. ob.	iij*s*.	iij*d*.
It'm paied to Richard Englefeild, mason, for vj days workyng on the key, takyng every day vj*d*. ob.	iij*s*.	iij*d*.
It'm paied to Rob't Roche, mason, for vj days workyng on the key, takyng for every day vj*d*.	iij*s*.	
It'm paied to Thomas Rochedale, mason, for vj dais workyng on the key, takyng vj*d*. ob. every day	iij*s*.	iij*d*.
It'm paied to Thomas ap Ithell, mason, for iij days worke there, takyng vj*d*. le day		xviij*d*.
It'm paied to D'd ap Ll'n, mason, the space of iij dayes workyng on the key, takyng for every day vj*d*.		xviij*d*.
It'm paied to vj laborers for v dayes to serve the masons, takyng iiij*d*. le day every of them	x*s*.	
It'm paied to Roland Hyde for hym and hys horse the space of iij days, takyng every day vj*d*.		xviij*d*.
It'm paied to John Maketire, laborer, for v days workyng at the key, takyng iiij*d*. every day		xx*d*.
It'm paied to Thomas ap Grono for hym and hys horse the space of iij daies to cary sande and morter, takyng vj*d*. every day		xviij*d*.

[m. 12.]

It'm paied for ij turnells to cary morter and sande		xij*d*.
It'm paied to Ric' Sparowe for the carriage of v bott lods of stones from Bangor to the key	v*s*.	
It'm paied to John Ingram for the cariage of x bott lode of stones from the Ffryers of Bewmarris to the key	iij*s*.	iiij*d*.
Summa eiusdem Ebdomode	xlvj*s*.	vj*d*.

Ebdomoda prox' post ffestum S'te Margaret Virginis [20th July].

It'm paied to Gruff' mason for v days laboryng on the key, takyng every day vij*d*.	ij*s*.	xj*d*.
It'm paied to John ap Ieuan, mason, for v days laboryng ther, takyng every day vj*d*. ob.	ij*s*.	viij*d*. ob.
It'm paied to Denys Roche, mason, for v days labor on the key, takyng ut supra	ij*s*.	viij*d*. ob.
It'm paied to Rob't Roche, mason, for v days laboryng ther, takyng every day vj*d*.	ij*s*.	vj*d*.
It'm paied to Thomas Rochedale, mason, for v days laboryng on the key, takyng every day vj*d*. ob. ...	ij*s*.	viij*d*. ob.
It'm paied to Richard Englefeild, mason, for v days laboryng on the key, takyng every day vj*d*. ob. ...	ij*s*.	viij*d*. ob.
It'm paied to Jamys ap Ithell for hym and hys horse the space of iij days to cary stones ffrom the Ffryers of Bewmarries to the water syde, takyng by the day vj*d*.		xviij*d*.
It'm paied to Will'm Smyth for the carriage of viij bott lods of stones from the Ffriers of Bewmarries to the key	ij*s*.	viij*d*.
It'm paied to Thomas ap Grono for hym and his horse the space of v days to cary stones ffrom the Ffriers of Bewmarres to the water syde	ij*s*.	vj*d*.
It'm paied to D'd ap Ll'n, mason, the space of ij days in takyng downe stones from the Ffriers of Bangor, takyng by the day vj*d*.		xij*d*.
It'm paied to Thomas ap Ieuan, mason, the space of ij days in polyng downe of stones ffrom the Ffryers of Bangor, takyng by the day vj*d*.		xij*d*.
It'm paied to Ll'n ap Ric' for one picarde lade with stones of vj tons and di [6½ tons] ffrom the Ffryers of Bewmarries to the key...		xij*d*.
Summa eiusdem Ebdomode ...	xxv*s*.	xj*d*.

Ebdomoda prox' post ffestum S'ci Jacobi apostoli [25th July].

It'm paied to Gruff' ap Hoell, mason, for vj days laboryng on the key, takyng every day vij*d*.	iij*s*.	vj*d*.
It'm paied to Denys Roche, mason, the space of vj days laboryng on the key, takyng every day vj*d*. ob. ...	iij*s*.	iij*d*.
It'm paied to John ap Ieuan, mason, for vj days laboryng on the key, takyng every day vj*d*. ob.	iij*s*.	iij*d*.
It'm paied to Richard Inglefeild, mason. for vj days labor on the key, takyng every day vj*d*. ob. ...	iij*s*.	iij*d*.
It'm paied to Thomas Rochedale, mason, for vj days laboryng on the key, takyng every day vj*d*. ob. ...	iij*s*.	iij*d*.
It'm paide to Rob't Roche, mason, the space of vj days laboryng on the key, takyng every day vj*d*. ...	iij*s*.	
It'm paied to vj laborars for vj days to serve the seid masons, takyng every of them iiij*d*. the day ...	xij*s*.	
It'm paied to Will'm ap D'd for hym and hys horse for iij days to cary sande and morter, takyng every day vi*d*.		xviij*d*.

It'm paied to Will'm Smyth for the cariage of ij bott lods of stones ffrom the Ffryers of Bewmarries to the key		viij*d.*
Summa eiusdem Ebdomode ...	xxxiij*s.*	viij*d.*

Ebdomod' prox' post ffestum S'ci Petri ad Vincula [1st August].

It'm paied to Gruff. ap Hoell, mason, the space of vj days laboryng on the key, takyng every day vij*d.* ...	iij*s.*	vj*d.*
It'm paied to John ap Ieuan, mason, for vj days laboryng on the key, takyng every day vj*d.* ob.	iij*s.*	iij*d.*
It'm paied to Denys Roche, mason, for vj days laboryng on the key, takyng every day vj*d.* ob.	iij*s.*	iij*d.*
It'm paied to Ric' Englefeild, mason, for vj days laboryng on the key, takyng by the day vj*d.* ob. ...	iij*s.*	iij*d.*
It'm paied to Rob't Roche, mason, for vj days labor on the key, takyng every day vj*d.*	iij*s.*	
It'm paied to Thomas Rochedale, mason, for vj days laboryng on the key, takyng every day vj*d.* ob. ...	iij*s.*	iij*d.*
It'm paied to Thomas Smyth for the carriage of xv bott lods of stones ffrom the Ffriers of Bewmarries unto the key	v*s.*	
Summa ejusdem Ebdomode ...	xxiiij*s.*	vj*d.*

[m. 12d.]

The membrane commences with a number of items which are cancelled because re-entered below.

Ebdomoda prox' post ffestum S'ci Laurentii Martyris [10th August].

It'm paied to Gruff' mason for vj days laboryng on the towne walls, takyng by the day vij*d.*	iij*s.*	vj*d.*
It'm paied to John ap Ieuan, mason, for vj days laboryng on the towne walls, takyng by the day vj*d.* ob. ...	iij*s.*	iij*d.*
It'm paied to Denys Roche, mason, the space of vj daies laboryng on the key, taking by the day vj*d.* ob. ...	iij*s.*	iij*d.*
It'm paied to Thomas Rochdale, mason, for vj days laboryng on the towne walls, takyng vjd. ob. le day	iij*s.*	iij*d.*
It'm paied to Ric' Inglefeilde, mason, for vj days laboryng on the towne walls, takyng vj*d.* ob. le day ...	iij*s.*	iij*d.*
It'm paied to Rob't Roche, mason, for vj days laboryng on the towne walls, takyng vj*d.* le day ...	iij*s.*	
It'm paied to John Dauyson, laborer, for thre days laboryng on the towne walls, takyng by the day iiij*d.*		xij*d.*
It'm paied to Dauet ap Will'm, laborer, for ij days laboryng on the towne walls, takyng by the day iiij*d.* ...		viij*d.*
It'm paied to D'd ap Ll'n, laborer, for iij days laboryng on the towne walls, takyng by the day iiij*d.* ...		xij*d.*
It'm paied to Thomas ap Ithell, mason, for two days laboryng on the towne walls, takyng by the day vj*d.*		xij*d.*
It'm paied to John ap John Gruff' for hym and his horse the space of ij days to cary sande and morter, takyng by the day vj*d.*		xij*d.*

It'm paied to John Taberner, laborer, for ij days laboryng on the towne walls, takyng by the day iiij*d.* ... viij*d.*

It'm paied to John ap Ieuan, laborer, for two days laboryng on the towne walls, takyng by the day iiij*d.* viij*d.*

Summa ejusdem Ebdomode ... xxv*s.* vj*d.*

Ebdomoda prox' ante ffestum S'ci Bartholomei apostoli [24th August].

It'm paied to Gruff' ap Hoell ap Gruff', mason, for v days laboryng on the towne walls, takyng vij*d.* le day ... ij*s.* xj*d.*

It'm paied to Denys Roche, mason, for v days laboryng on the towne walls, takyng vj*d.* ob. le day ... ij*s.* viij*d.* ob.

It'm paied to Rob't Roche, mason, for v days laboryng on the towne walls, takyng vj*d.* le day ... ij*s.* vj*d.*

It'm paied to Ric' Inglefeild, mason, for v days laboryng on the towne walls, takyng vj*d.* ob. le day ... ij*s.* viij*d.* ob.

It'm paied to John ap Ieuan, mason, for v days laboryng on the towne walls, takyng by the day vj*d.* ob. ... ij*s.* viij*d.* ob.

It'm paied to Thomas Rochedale, mason, for v days laboryng on the seid walls, takyng by the day vj*d.* ob. ... ... ij*s.* viij*d.* ob.

It'm paied to Lewis ap R', mason, for v days laboryng on the towne walls, takyng by the day vj*d.* ob. ... ij*s.* viij*d.* ob.

It'm paied to Will'm Smyth for the carryage of xiij bote lods of stones from the Ffryers of Bewmarries to the key ... ... iiij*s.* iiij*d.*

It'm paied to D'd ap Ll'n, mason, for ij days worke takyng by the day vj*d.* in pullyng downe of stones from the Ffryers of Bangor ... ... xij*d.*

It'm paied to Thomas ap Ithell, mason, the space of ij days worke in pullyng downe of stones ffrom the seid Ffryers, takyng vj*d.* le day ... ... xij*d.*

It'm paied to two laborers the space of ij days worke to take the stones from the masons, takyng iiij*d.* every of them by day ... ... xvj*d.*

It'm paied to John ap Tud', laborer, the space of ij days to bryng stones from the water syde to the masons, takyng iiij*d.* le day ... ... viij*d.*

[m. 13.]

It'm paied to John Taberner for ij days to bryng stones from the water syde to the masons, takyng iiij*d.* every day ... ... viij*d.*

It'm paied to David ap Thomas for hym and his horse for thre dayes to cary stones and morter to serve the masons, takyng by the day vjd. ... ... xviij*d.*

Summa eiusdem Ebdomode ... xxix*s.* iiij*d.* ob,

Ebdomoda prox' post ffestum S'ci Bartholomei apostoli.

It'm paied to Gruff' ap Hoell ap Gruff', mason, for vj days laboryng on the towne walls, takyng by the day vij*d.* iij*s.* vj*d.*

It'm paied to Ric' Englefeild, mason, for vj days laboryng on the towne walls, takyng by the day vj*d* ob. ... iij*s.* iij*d.*

It'm paied to Thomas Rochedale, mason, for vj days laboryng on the towne walls, takyng vj*d*. ob. le day	iij*s*. iij*d*.
It'm paied to Denys Roche, mason, for vj days laboryng on the towne walls, takyng by the day vj*d*. ob. ...	iij*s*. iij*d*.
It'm paide to John ap Ieuan, mason, for vj days laboryng on the towne walls, takyng by the day vj*d*. ob. ...	iij*s*. iij*d*.
It'm paied to Rob't Roche, mason, for vj days laboryng on the towne walls, takyng by the day vj*d*. ob. ...	iij*s*. iij*d*.
It'm paied to Lewis ap Res, mason, for vj days laboryng on the towne walls, takyng by the day, vj*d*. ob. ...	iij*s*. iij*d*.
It'm paied to John Taberner, laborer, for thre days worke on the towne walls, takyng iiij*d*. le day ...	xij*d*.
It'm paied to Will'm Smyth, laborer, for ij days laboryng on the towne walls, takyng every day iiij*d*. ...	viij*d*.
It'm paied to Thomas ap Res for hym and hys horse the space of iij days to cary stones from the Friers of Bangor to the water syde, takyng by [the] day vj*d*. ...	xviij*d*.
It'm paied to Jamys ap Ithell for hym and hys horse the space of iij days to cary stones from the Ffriers of Bangor to the water syde, takyng le day vj*d*. ...	xviij*d*.
It'm paied to John ap Mad[oc] for hym and hys horse the space of iij days to cary stones from the seid Ffriers to the water side, takyng le day vj*d*.	xviij*d*.
Summa eiusdem Ebdomade ...	xxix*s*. ij*d*.

Ebdomoda prox' post ffestum Decolationis S'ci Johannis Baptiste [29th August].

It'm paied to Gruff' Mason for vj [? v] days laboryng on the towne wallis, takyng by the day vij*d*. ...	ij*s*. xj*d*.
It'm paied to John ap Ieuan, mason, for v days laboryng on the towne wallis, takyng by the day vj*d*. ob. ...	ij*s*. viij*d*. ob.
It'm paide to Denys Roche, mason, the space of v days laboryng on the key, takyng by the day vj*d*. ob. ...	ij*s*. viij*d*. ob.
It'm paied to Thomas Rochedale, mason, for v days laboryng on the Towne Walles, takyng by the day vj*d*. ob.	ij*s*. viij*d*. ob.
It'm paied to Ric' Inglefeild, mason, for v days laboryng on the towne wallis, takyng by the day vj*d*. ob. ...	ij*s*. viij*d*. ob.
It'm paied to Rob't Roche, mason, the space of v days laboryng on the towne wallis, takyng by the day vj*d*.	ij*s*. vj*d*.
It'm paied to Lewis ap Res, mason, for v days labor on the same wallis, takyng by the day vj*d*. ob. ...	ij*s*. viij*d*. ob.
It'm paied to John ap Ieuan for his costs in goyng into Chesshire to bryng the masons	xij*d*.
It'm paied to David goch, mason, the space of v days laboryng on the key, takyng every day v*d*. ...	ij*s*. j*d*.
It'm paied to Thomas ap Ithell, mason, for iij days laboryng on the key, takyng by the day vj*d*.	xviij*d*.
It'm paied to D'd ap Ll'n, mason, for thre days laboryng on the towne walls, takyng by the day vj*d*. ...	xviij*d*.

It'm paied to Thomas ap Grono for the hire of his horse the space of vj days to cary sande and morter, takyng every day ij*d*.		xij*d*.
It'm paied to Will'm Smyth, laborer, the space of iiij days laboryng on the towne walls, takyng every day iiij*d*.		xvj*d*.
It'm paied to John Nicolson for iij days laboryng on the towne wallis, takyng iiij*d*. by the day		xij*d*.
It'm paied to John Taberner, laborer, for vj days laboryng on the towne wallis, takyng by the day iiij*d*. ...	ij*s*.	
It'm paied to Gruff' ap Ll'n for one bott lode with stones from Bangor to the key		xx*d*.
It'm paied to John ap Ieuan, laborer, the space of iij days laboryng on the towne wallis, takyng iiij*d*. by the day		xij*d*.
It'm paied to Thomas, laborer, the space of iij days laboryng on the towne walls, takyng by the day iiij*d*.		xij*d*.
It'm paied to Ieuan ap Res, laborer, for iij days laboryng on the towne walles, takyng by the day iiij*d*. ...		xij*d*.
It'm paied to Machyn [? Mathyw=Matthew] Smyth for mendyng of the locke of the lyme house ...		ij*d*.
It'm paied to Will'm Smyth for one bote lode of stones from Bangor to the key		x*d*.
It'm paied to Hugh Hampson for one bote lode of stones from Bangor to the key		xxij*d*.
It'm paied to Will'm Smyth for the cariage of xv botts lode with stones from the Ffriers of Bewmarries to the key	v*s*.	
It'm paied to Thomas ap Grono for the hire of his horse the space of iij dayes, takyng every day ij*d*. ...		vj*d*.
It'm paide to John ap Mad[oc], laborer, the space of one day		iiij*d*.
[m. 13d.]		
It'm paied to Will'm Smyth, laborer, the space of one day laboryng on the Towne Walls, takyng by the day iiij*d*.		iiij*d*.
Summa eiusdem ebdomode ...	xliiij*s*. ob.	

Ebdomoda in festo Nativitate B'te Marie virginis [8th September].

It'm paied to Gruff', mason, for vj days labor on the towne walls, takyng every day vij*d*.	iij*s*.	vj*d*.
It'm paied to Denys Roche, mason, for vj days laboryng on the same walls, takyng by the day vj*d*. ob. ...	iij*s*.	iij*d*.
It'm paied to Thomas Rochedale, mason, for vj days laboryng on the same walls, takyng by the day vj*d*. ob.	iij*s*.	iij*d*.
It'm paied to Rob't Roche, mason, for vj days laboryng on the towne walls, takyng by the day vj*d*. ...	iij*s*.	
It'm paied to Richard Englafeild, mason, for vj days laboryng on the towne walls, taking by the day vj*d*. ob.	iij*s*.	iij*d*.
It'm paied to Lewis ap Res, mason, for vj days laboryng on the towne walls, takyng by the day vj*d*. ob. ...	iij*s*.	iij*d*.

It'm paied to John ap Ieuan, mason, for vj days laboryng on the towne walls, takyng by the day vj*d.* ob. ...	iij*s.*	iij*d.*
It'm paied to D'd goch, mason, for vj days laboryng on the same wallis, takyng by the day v*d.* ...	ij*s.*	vj*d.*
It'm paied to Ric' ap Will'm, sclatter, for iij days laboryng in sclattyng of the shire halle, takyng every day vj*d.*		xviij*d.*
Summa eiusdem Ebdomode ...	xxvj*s.*	ix*d.*

Ebdomoda prox' post ffestum Exaltationis S'ci Crucis [14th September].

It'm paied to Gruff' ap Hoell, mason, for vj days laboryng on the towne walls, takyng every day vij*d.* ...	iij*s.*	vj*d.*
It'm paied to Ric' Englefeild, mason, for vj days laboryng on the towne walls, takyng by the day vj*d.* ob. ...	iij*s*	iij*d.*
It'm paied to Thomas Rochedale, mason, for vj days laboryng on the towne walls, takyng by the day vj*d.* ob.	iij*s.*	iij*d.*
It'm paied to Denys Roche, mason, for vj days laboryng on the towne walls, takyng by the day vj*d.* ob. ...	iij*s.*	iij*d.*
It'm paied to Rob't Roche, mason, for vj days laboryng on the towne walls, takyng by the day vj*d.* ...	iij*s.*	
It'm paied to John ap Ieuan, mason, for vj days laboryng on the towne walls, takyng by the day vj*d.* ob. ...	iij*s.*	iij*d.*
It'm paied to Lewis ap R , mason, for vj days laboryng on the towne walls, takyng le day vj*d.* ob. ...	iij*s.*	iij*d.*
It'm paied to D'd ap Hoell, mason, for vj days laboryng on the towne walls, takyng by the day vj*d.* ob. ...	iij*s.*	iij*d.*
It'm paied to D'd goch, mason, for vj days laboryng on the towne walls, takyng by the day v*d.* ...	ij*s.*	vj*d.*
It'm paied to Hugh Holt, laborer, for vj days laboryng on the towne walls to serve the masons, takyng by the day iiij*d.*	ij*s.*	
It'm paied to John Taberner, laborer, for vj days laboryng on the key, takyng by the day iiij*d.*	ij*s.*	
It'm paied to Hugh ap John ap Will'm, laborer, for vj days laboryng on the key to serve the masons, takyng by the day iiij*d.*	ij*s.*	
It'm paied to John Maketire, laborer, for vj days laboryng on the key, takyng by the day iiij*d.*, to serve the masons	ij*s.*	
It'm paied to Will'm Smyth, laborer, for vj days laboryng on the key, takyng every day iiij*d.*	ij*s.*	
It'm paied to John Davyson, laborer, for v days laboryng on the towne walls, takyng by the day iiij*d.*, to serve the masons		xx*d.*
It'm paied to D'd ap D'd, laborer, for iiij days laboryng on the key, takyng by the day iiij*d.*, to serve the said masons		xvj*d.*
It'm paied to Hugh Hampson for one bott lode of stones from Bangor to the key		xij*d.*
Summa eiusdem Ebdomode ...	xlij*s.*	vj*d.*

Ebdomoda prox' post ffestum S'ci Mathei apostoli [21st September].

It'm paied to Gruff' ap Hoell, mason, for vj days laboryng on the towne walls, takyng by the day vij*d*.	iij*s*. vj*d*.
It'm paied to Ric' Englefeild, mason, for vj days laboryng on the towne walls, takyng by the day vj*d*. ob. ...	iij*s*. iij*d*.
It'm paied to John ap Ieuan, mason, for vj days laboryng on the towne walls, takyng by the day vj*d*. ob. ...	iij*s*. iij*d*.
It'm paied to Thomas Rochedale, mason, for vj days laboryng on the towne walls, takyng by the day vj*d*. ob.	iij*s*. iij*d*.
It'm paied to Denys Roche, mason, for vj days laboryng on the towne walls, takyng by the day vj*d*. ob. ...	iij*s*. iij*d*.
It'm paied to Rob't Roche, mason, for vj days laboryng on the towne walls, takyng by the day vj*d*. ...	iij*s*.

[m. 14.]

It'm payde to Lewes ap R., mason, for laboring on the Towne Wallys the space of vj days, takyng by the daye vj*d*. ob....	iij*s*. iij*d*.
It'm payde to David Goch, mason, for vj days laboring on the Towne Wallys, takyng by the day v*d*. ...	ij*s*. vj*d*.
It'm payde to Thomas ap Ithell, mason, for iij days laboring on the Towne Walls, takyng by the daye vj*d*.	xviij*d*.
It'm payde to David ap Ll'n, mason, for iij days laboryng upon the Towne Wallys, takyng by the day vj*d*. ...	xviij*d*.
It'm payde to John Taberner, laborer, for vj days laboring upon the Towne Wallys, takyng by the daye iiij*d*.	ij*s*.
It'm payde to John Davyson, laborer, for vj days laboring on the Towne Wallys, taking by the daye iiij*d*. ...	ij*s*.
It'm payde to John Maketyre, laborer, for v days laboring on the Towne Wallys, takyng by the daye iiij*d*. ...	xx*d*.
It'm payde to Jamys of the Hey, laborer, for iij days laboring on the Towne Wallys, takyng by the daye iiij*d*., to serve the masons	xij*d*.
It'm payde to Will'm Smyth, laborer, for one daye laboryng on the Towne Wallys, taking by the daye iiij*d*.	iiij*d*.
It'm payde to David ap Guttyn, laborer, for iij days laboring on the Towne Wallys, takyng by the daye iiij*d*.	xij*d*.
It'm payde to John Nycholas for v days on the Towne Wallys, takyng by the daye iiij*d*., to serve the masons	xx*d*.
It'm payde to John ap Ithell, laborer, for v days laboryng on the Towne Wallys, takyng by the day iiij*d*., to serve the masons	xx*d*.
It'm payd to Thomas ap John for iiij days laboryng on the Towne Wallys, takyng by the daye iiij*d*., to serve the masons	xvj*d*.
It'm payd to Ris Jhonson for coordes to bynde the scaffold	iij*d*.
It'm payd for Roodes [? rods] and [*blank*] to make the scaffold	viij*d*.

It'm paid to Thomas Rychard, carpynter, for one day's laboring to make the sayd scaffold		vj*d.*
It'm payd to Rouland Moyle for the cariage of one boate loode of stones from Bangor to the keye ...		xxij*d.*
It'm paid to Thomas ap Grono for hym and hys horse the space of iij days and di [3½ days], takyng by the daye vj*d.*		xxj*d.*
It'm payde to Will'm Smyth for ij botes lode of stones from the Ffryers house at Bewmarres to the keye ...		viij*d.*
Summa istius Ebdomade ...	xlvj*s.*	viij*d.*

Ebdomada in ffesto S'ci Michaelis archangeli [29th September].

It'm paide to Gruff' ap Hoell, mason, for vj days worke on the Towne Walls, takyng by the day vij*d.* ...	iij*s.*	vj*d.*
It'm payde to Ris. Englefeld, mason, for vj days laboring on the Towne Walls, takyng by the daye vj*d.* ob. ...	iij*s.*	iij*d.*
It'm payd to John ap Ieuan, mason, for vj days laboring uppon the Towne Walls, takyng by the daye vj*d.* ob.	iij*s.*	iij*d.*
It'm payde to Thomas Rochedale, mason, for vi days laboring upon the Towne Walls, takyng by the daye vj*d.* ob.	iij*s.*	iij*d.*
It'm paid to David ap Hoell, mason, for v [vj] days laboring on the Towne Walls, takyng by the daye vj*d.* ob.	iij*s.*	iij*d.*
It'm payd to Denys Roche, mason, for vj days laboring on the Towne Walls, takyng by the daye vj*d.* ob. ...	iij*s.*	iij*d.*
It'm payd to Robert Roche, mason, for vj days laboring uppon the Towne Walls, taking by the daye vj*d.* ...	iij*s.*	
It'm payd to Will'm Smyth, laborer, for vj days laboring uppon the Towne Walls, takyng by the daye iiij*d.*, to serve the masons	ij*s.*	
It'm paid to Jamys of the Haye for vj days laboring uppon the Towne Walls, taking by the daye iiij*d.*, to serve the masons	ij*s.*	
It'm paid to John Maketire for vj days laboring uppon the Towne Walls, taking by the day iiij*d.* to serve the masons	ij*s.*	
It'm paid to John Tarberner for vj days work on the Towne Walls, taking by the daye iiij*d.*, to serve the masons	ij*s.*	
It'm paid to David ap D'd, laborer, for vj days working uppon the Towne Walls, taking by the day iiij*d.*, to serve the masons	ij*s.*	
It'm paid to Hugh ap John, laborer, for vj days laboring uppon the Towne Walls, taking by the day iiij*d.* ...	ij*s.*	
It'm paid to R. ap Hoell ap Griff' for vj days laboring uppon the Towne Walls, taking iiij*d.* by the daye ...	ij*s.*	
It'm paid to Hugh a lowe, laborer, working upon the Towne Walls, taking by the space of vj days for every day iiij*d.*	ij*s.*	

It'm paid to Hugh Hampson for vj bote lodes of stones caried from the Ffriers house of Bewmares to the kaye	ij*s.*	vj*d.*
Summa istius Ebdomade ...	xli*s.*	iij*d.*

[m. 14d.]

Ebdomada prox, post ffestum S'ci Michaelis archangeli.

It'm paid to Griff', mason. for iiij days work on the towne walls, taking by the day vij*d.*	ij*s.*	iiij*d.*
It'm paid to Denys Roche, mason, for iiij dais work on the Town Walls, taking by the daye vj*d.* ob. ...	ij*s.*	ij*d.*
It'm paid to David ap Hoell, mason, for iiij days laboring on the Towne Walls, taking by the day vj*d.* ob. ...	ij*s.*	ij*d.*
It'm paid to Thomas Rochedale, mason, for foure days laboring uppon the Towne Walls, taking by the daye vj*d.* ob.	ij*s.*	ij*d.*
It'm paid to David Ris, mason, for iiij days work upon the same walls, taking by the daye v*d.* ...		xx*d.*
It'm paid to Ric' ap Ieuan, laborer, for iij days laboring to serve the sayd masons, taking by the day iiij*d.* ...		xij*d.*
It'm paid to Will'm Smyth, laborer, for iij days laboring to serve the masons, taking by the daye iiij*d.* ...		xij*d.*
It'm paid to Jamys of the Haye, laborer, for iij days laboring to serve the masons, taking by the daye iiij*d.*		xij*d.*
It'm paid to Hugh ap John, laborer, for iij days laboring to serve the sayd masons, taking by the day iiij*d.* ...		xij*d.*
It'm paid to Thomas ap John, laborer, for iij days laboring to serve the masons, taking by the daye iiij*d.* ...		xij*d.*
It'm paid to John Maketore [*sic*], laborer, for iij days laboring to serve the said masons, taking by the day iiij*d.*		xij*d.*
It'm paid to John Taberner, laborer, for iij dais laboring on the Towne Walls, taking by the daye iiij*d.* ...		xij*d.*
It'm paid to Gilbert Robyson for lxxj pecks of lyme, after the rate of vj*d.* le peck	xxxv*s.*	vj*d.*
It'm paid to Nicholas Britell for viij pecks of lyme, after the rate of iiij*d.* le peck	ij*s.*	viij*d.*
It'm paid to John ap Ieuan ap Lewes, smyth, for the sharping of the masons' toles [tools]	x*s.*	v*d.*
It'm paid to all the masons in rewarde towards theyre charges in going home	v*s.*	iiij*d.*
It'm paid to Robert Burghill, surveyor and paymaster of the sayd works, attending uppon the workemen there and riding from place to place for p[ro]visions for the same, for hymself and his horse, by the said space, taking in grosse for one hoole yere, and for ingrossing the boke in p'cells [parcels] as well in paper as in p'chement...	x*li.*	
...	xiii*li.* xj*s.*	v*d.*

[Total expenditure at Beaumaris, £41 5*s*. 7*d*.]

Sm'a total' istius bundell' cont' xiiij rotuli } cxl*li*. xiiij*s*. iiij*d*. ob.

p' me Joh'em Pakyngton.
p' me Joh'em Arnold.

The total expenditure at the different places was

at Carnarvon for 18 weeks	£45	4	7
,, Quay for 17 weeks ...	32	1	5½
	77	6	0½
Harlech, for 14 weeks	22	2	3
Beaumaris, for 16 weeks	41	5	7
	£140	13	10½

There is an error of 6*d*. somewhere in the account.

Peniarth MS. 118, fos. 829-837.

Introduction, Transcript and Translation,

By HUGH OWEN, M.A.,

Exhibitioner at Liverpool University; Fellow of the Royal Historical Society.

Introduction.

The accompanying extract from the *Peniarth* MS. 118 (foolscap folio) was written by John David Rhys[1]—better known as Sion Dafydd Rhys—about the year 1600. In addition to writing parts of *Peniarth* MSS, 118, 252, 270, 316; *Cardiff* MS. 18, and *Llanstephan* MSS. 41, 55, 56, 79,[2] he published a Welsh *Grammar* in 1592; he died in 1617, aged 80 years.[3]

Sion Dafydd Rhys's handwriting is fairly legible and needs little comment: in the following transcript the symbols 6 and n̄ are written *w* and *nn* respectively. An examination of the photographic reproduction of fo. 835 (facing p. 142), which is one quarter of the actual size,

[1] Verified by Mr. T. Gwynn Jones, who is familiar with John David Rhys' handwriting.

[2] Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans' *Report on MSS. in the Welsh Language*. *Peniarth* MS. 118, fo. 297 contains an autograph letter of W. Mydleton from Wilton, dated 1st Feb., 1582, to Dr. Davies, *i.e.*, Dr. John Dd. Rhys. On fo. 300 of the same MS. are "Two paragraphs in Latin enjoining Wm: ap Howell, Dd: ap Dd: ap Morgan, and Tho: Vaughan to hold their agreement with John David, Doctor of Medicine, concerning a dwelling house, a barn and two gardens 'in burgo Brecon'".

[3] Rowlands, *Llyfryddiaeth y Cymry*, p. 63, but Rowlands does not give his sources for the date of J. D. R's death.

gives an adequate idea of the characteristics of his script. Apparently most of this extract refers to the pre-Norman period in Welsh history—when perhaps it was thought that every *cawr*[1] had his stronghold or *caer*.

To the archæologist one of the most interesting passages is to be found on fo. 836, line 26, where it is stated that a *caer* was made for the milking of cows within it, a statement that strengthens the idea entertained by some scholars that most, if not all, of the *caers* (and one might add *din* or *dinas*), of very small area, throughout Wales, served no military purpose but were used as enclosures for cattle or sheep.

The commonest place-names in Wales suggesting fortifications of some kind are *din* or *dinas, caer, llys* (?), *tommen*, and *castell*.[2] It is as difficult to distinguish between these terms as it is between the Irish *dūn, rath, lis, cathair*, and *caisel*,[3] because they are often used indifferently[4] in the literature of Wales and of Ireland respectively, to designate a similar object—a stronghold.

[1] "On the etymology of Welsh *cawr*, see Julius Pokorny's article in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*, neue Folge, 45 Bd. 1 Heft."—Communicated by Mr. J. Glyn Davies, Liverpool University.

[2] The names *din* (both as prefix and suffix) or *dinas, caer, llys* and *tommen* seem to be more frequent in North than in South Wales. The castle—and with it the word *castell*—was introduced earlier, and to a greater extent, in South Wales; and as it superseded the previously constructed forts, the original name—*din* or *dinas, caer, llys, tommen*—would inevitably in many places become obsolete.

[3] O'Curry's *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, vol. I., pp. ccxxxviii, cccv-cccvii, cccix, vol. III., p. 3; vol. I., pp. ccciv-cccv; vol. I., p. ccciv; vol. I., pp. cccvi-cccvii; vol. IV., p. 4; vol. I., pp. cccv, cccix.

[4] Compare the hopeless manner in which the nomenclature of mediæval military engines is confused by the chroniclers: for examples of this see Oman, *A History of the Art of War in the Middle Ages*, p. 545.

From the descriptions available of *din* or *dinas* sites in Wales we find that most of them are strongholds on hill-tops, and appear by nature to be much stronger for defence than the *caerau*. Evidently the *din* or *dinas* was the more primitive type of fort; its area varied considerably—from half an acre (*e.g.* Dinas near Dolbadarn in Carnarvonshire) to sixty-nine acres (*e.g.* Dinas Mawr in Denbighshire).

The term *din* means "a fort" (Irish *dūn*). *Dinas* in Welsh has long come to mean "a city", and the confusion of meanings between the old and the new is found in the inconsequential place-name Dinas Dinlle.[1] In literary Welsh *dinas* is now feminine, but in place-names the old masculine gender is frequently preserved, *e.g.*, Dinas Mawr, Braich y Dinas, Craig y Dinas (near Clynnog in Carnarvonshire); however, the spoken form is liable to follow the modern feminine gender, *e.g.*, Braich y Ddinas.

Caer—particularly common in Snowdonia—is generally applied to at least two geographical types of forts which may be roughly distinguished as the *hill-caer* and the *plain-caer*.

(1) The *hill-caer* appears to have been a strong fort on a comparatively high hill—"a contour-fort", with artificial defences following the natural line of the hill, and often consisting of a huge wall of loose stones to encircle completely the summit, and necessitating hard and long labour in its construction. It was generally circular in shape and enclosed an area of from one to two acres. Sometimes this stronghold, though usually on

[1] *Dinas* is clearly a late super-imposition in this name, and could only have been applied at a time when the meaning of *Dinlle* had been forgotten. Compare *Llyn Strellyn* (Ystrad-llyn) and *Llyn Cwellyn* (Cawell-lyn)—clear instances of tautology.

high ground, was not entirely dependent on natural slopes for protection.[1]

(2) The *plain-caer* is represented by a rectangular or other enclosure of simple plan on fairly level ground.[2] This type of fort, if not actually constructed by the Romans, may be attributed to their influence, for the Romans rarely, if ever, adapted British camps to their own use.[3] The Romanized Britons may have modified the Roman camps to suit their own methods of warfare, but it is more likely that when attacked, they retreated to their hills; Roman tactics were only suitable for a Roman drilled army.

At present the data available are not sufficient[4] to answer conclusively the following questions (which occur to us) in connection with the caerau:—

(1) Are there plain-caerau with which the Romans were unlikely to be connected?

(2) Can the plain-caerau be sub-divided into marsh-caerau[5] and hard-ground caerau?

[1] "By our valuable MSS. and by traditional evidence, of which much remains correctly retained amongst our mountaineers, we learn that the *caerau* upon the summit of our hills, were outposts of the ancient inhabitants; here they lodged their wives and children; to these places they drove their cattle."—*Caerwys* MS. x. p. 3, '*An Historical Account of the Ancient Castles in the Counties of Montgomery and Denbigh*', by Angharad Llwyd.

[2] The plain-caer will not, of course, be confused with the moated homestead of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. See Allcroft, *Earthwork of England*, ch. xiv.

[3] British camps for the protection of the tribe—men, women and children—were generally in isolated positions suitable for natural defence; Roman camps were usually on a particular line of march and mostly intended for temporary occupation only, and that by trained soldiers.

[4] Only when the 'Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments in Wales and Monmouthshire' has completed its admirable *Inventories* of the Welsh Counties can these problems be adequately considered.

[5] Some earthworks may have been enclosures for cattle as a pro-

(3) Are the hill-caer and the plain-caer to be found close together? If so, could they have been constructed by the same race at the same period?

(4) Were any of these caerau isolated forts, or were they units in a general system of defence? [1]

(5) Why are some caerau surrounded by a ditch, others by stones? Was this difference due to the nature of the material available or to the nature of the ground, to different builders, or to some other cause?

(6) Was the hill-caer the British imitation of a possibly Roman plain-caer? Was the hill-caer in general use in Wales in post-Roman times and until the introduction of the motte-castle?

(7) If both the hill-caer and plain-caer were post-Roman, was the plain-caer used for domestic purposes, and the hill-caer as a watch-post and therefore made smaller?

The etymology of the word *caer* (pl. *caerau*, *caeroedd*, and *caerydd*) cannot help us at the present time because it is not established; it cannot be phonetically derived from the Latin *castra* according to the established processes of Latin phonology in Welsh—that is, the Latin of the Roman occupation—because no instance is known of the passing of Latin *str* into Welsh diphthong + *r*.[2] (See n. pp. 148-9.)

tection from wild animals, such as wolves; a wolf could cross a marsh but heavy quadrupeds would never succeed in doing so, hence a marsh stockade suggests its use for military purposes only.

Mr. Higgins, Liverpool University, suggests in a letter to me that *Gaerwen* means 'a fort on, or in close proximity to, wide marshlands'. In this connection compare *Gaerwen ddu*, showing that *-wen* cannot mean 'white': is *-wen* the modern Welsh term *-weun*?

[1] See Professor Haverfield's 'Military Aspects of Roman Britain', *Y Cymmrodor* (1910) p. 67. Elaborate fortifications would suggest permanent occupation.

[2] (*a*) Professor J. E. Lloyd, Bangor, in '*Y Cymmrodor*,' vol. xi., pp. 26, 27, states: "In some parts of Cardiganshire *caerau* is occasionally used for *caeau* 'fields'". W. O. Pughe in his Dictionary

In the course of time these caer-enclosures fell into disuse as forts, but could still be used by the natives for herding cattle,[1] and the word *caer* might subsequently be gradually applied to cattle enclosures. As a matter of fact, in the accompanying transcript of *Peniarth* MS. 118, fo. 836, an instance is given of a *caer* being built for the purpose of milking cows within it:

> "Drewyn Gawr a wnaeth Gaer Drewyn[2] yn y Deyrnion, am yr abhon a Chorwen. Ac yw gariad y gwnaeth y Gaer honno, *er godro ei gwarthec yndi*".
>
> (Drewyn Gawr made Caer Drewyn in Deyrnion, the other side of the river from Corwen. And to his sweetheart he made that Caer, to milk her cows in.)

The language no doubt distinguished at some time between *dinas* and *caer*, but in what way cannot be ascertained unless by archæological surveys and scientific excavation. Was the *dinas* an enclosure bounded by a

(1832) gives 'caer y fynwent', the churchyard wall. In the Welsh Bible *caer* is used almost invariably for 'a wall'.

(*b*) Compare Thurneysen, *Handbuch des Alt-Irischen*, p. 517, for the derivation of *caer* from *castra*.—Communicated by Mr. Ifor Williams, Bangor.

[1] Compare the following:

(*a*) "Probably the Romanized Britons occupied the older British fort and modified its size to suit their own requirements."—Allcroft, *Earthwork of England*, ch. xi.

(*b*) "The Normans often adapted British and Roman works, but these were mostly post-Norman, and used for domestic, not military purposes."—*Ibid.*

(*c*) "Long after the *lisses* and *raths* were abandoned as dwellings, many of them were turned to different uses; some of the high *dūns* and mounds were crowned with modern buildings. The superstitious peasantry always felt the greatest reluctance to putting them under tillage; but they were often used as pens for cattle, for which some were admirably adapted."—Joyce, *The Origin and History of Irish Names of Places*, vol i, p. 284.

[2] "Kaer Drewin, a round stone wall about an acre of ground where they kept their cattel in war time."—Ed. Lhwyd's *Parochialia*, *Arch. Camb.* (Supplement, April 1910), part ii, p. 44.

wall of earth, and the *caer* originally surrounded by a wall of stone? Was the *dinas* originally intended to shelter the whole tribe and their belongings? Was the plain-caer the fort of the Romans, and the hill-caer the watch-post of the Britons in post-Roman times?

Of the name *llys*[1] (Irish *lis*='a fort') sufficient examples are not as yet forthcoming to warrant any statement as to the particular type of the military enclosure indicated. In later times *llys* certainly came to mean 'court', whether of the judiciary or of the Crown.

Another place-name suggesting a fortification of some kind is *tommen*—derived from Low Latin *tumba*—*tomm* + the Welsh femine singulative suffix *-en*: *tomm* is also applied to 'dung-heap', e.g., *tommen dail* (English 'midden'), probably from the fact of its having been earthed up for preservation. By the term *tommen*[2] is generally meant an artificial mount, with encircling ditch or

[1] (*a*) Mr. Ifor Williams, Bangor, in a letter notes that in 'Culhwch' *cadlys* is used for 'the bailey of a castle', and he quotes the *Myvyrian Archaiology* (Denbigh, 1870), p. 226:

'Ny seuis na thwr na bwr (=burgh) bu krein' (=prostrate).

'Nac argoed na choed na *chadlys drein* (=a stockade of thorns); also the *White Book Mabinogion* (J. Gwenogvryn Evans, 1907), p. 244b,

'mynet dros y teir catlys awnaethant hyt
pan dyuuant y my6n ygaer'.

With *cadlys* compare *cadlas*—used in Carnarvonshire to-day to denote an enclosure for the haystack.

(*b*) *Llys*: *Indo-Germanic* plt-su, Pedersen, § 413, cognate with English 'field'.—Communicated by Mr. J. Glyn Davies, Liverpool University.

[2] Was the *tommen* type of fort originally a round barrow of the pre-historic age, but subsequently adapted for military purposes? See B. C. A. Windle, *Remains of the Pre-historic Age in England* (Methuen, 1904), pp. 140-143; also compare the names Tommen Gastelh (Gwydhelwern), Tommen Gastelh (Lhanvor) and Castelh Tommen y mur(Lhandekwyn) referred to in Ed. Lhwyd's Parochialia (*Arch. Camb.*, Supplement Apr. 1910. Part ii, pp. 49, 62 and 104 respectively).

fosse, the area so enclosed being usually less than half an acre, *e.g.*, Tommen Fawr (Carnarvonshire), Tommen y Faerdre and Tommen y Rhodwydd (Denbighshire), Tommen y Bala (Merionethshire), Tommen Llanio (Cardiganshire). The *tommen* site is often found on a river bank or on the edge of a lake.

The frequency with which proper names are attached to the word *castell* in place-names suggests

(1) The personal element, and possibly indicates the original builder, *e.g.*, Castell Madoc (Brecknockshire); *castell*-forts bearing personal names are *prima facie* comparatively modern;

(2) The proximity of a town, and suggests that the fort either protected the town or held it in subjection, *e.g.*, Castell y Wyddgrug.

Most of the *castell*-names, even where the proper names are absent, are applied to fortified mounts, wholly or partly artificial, and probably of the mount-and-bailey type.[1]

The type, as well as the name, shows *castell* to be a fort of later date than *dinas* or *caer*;[2] it is also evident that *castell* was a different kind of stronghold from the *caer*.[3]

[1] The descriptions as yet available of these *castell*-forts are not in themselves sufficiently conclusive on this point.

[2] *Castell* occurs in the *Book of Llandaf* only about six times; it does not appear once in the *Gododin*, which contains *dinas* six, and *caer* four times. In this connection it may be observed that the military references in the *Pedeir Kainc* of the *Mabinogion* suggest a period in Wales prior to A.D. 1100; the descriptions of the castles in the other tales of the so-called *Mabinogion* clearly refer to some time at least subsequent to A.D. 1250. [It is stated that the *Peniarth* MS. containing the *White Book Mabinogion* was written about A.D. 1282; see Introduction to *White Book Mabinogion* (J. Gwenogvryn Evans), p. xiii].

[3] (*a*) "Ni savei raedun ruych pell
Nac aer na chaer na chastell".—*Myv. Arch.* (Denbigh) p. 175.
(Nor battle nor caer nor castle would stand . . . . . before them.)

The word *castell* is generally assumed to be derived from the Latin castellum (Irish caisel).[1]

In the "Extract" that follows the writer names, but does not attempt to distinguish between, various sites of strongholds. He appears to be more concerned with deriving nearly all the place-names from the names of giants who once dwelt there. Some of these, so he writes, dwelt on a *moel* (Yscydion, Ophrom, Ysbryn); others in a *caer* (Gwedros, Hedoc, Dinas or Dynas, Chwilcin, Celgan, Odwyn, Clidha, Phili, Gwrle, Drewyn); two in a *bwlch* (Radyr, Aedhan); one in a *llwyn* (Chwermon), a *cwrt* (Mibhod), a *garth* (Cribwr), an *ynys* (Cedwyn); but most of them are stated to have been dwelling in a *castell* (Howel, Lhyphan, Pyscoc, Chwil, Didhannel, Moel, Moythyn, Mabon, Ourbryd, Cymryd, Maylor, Cornippin, Crygyn, Bwba, Bwch, Ernalht, Buga, Trogi, Crou, Gerdhan). The absence of the name *din* or *dinas* for a stronghold is significant.

(*b*) The feature that distinguishes the *castell* from its predecessors—*dinas* and *caer*—is the *tower*, whether the motte of the mount-and-bailey type or the keep of the later stone castle. This type of stronghold for permanent occupation suited a man with only a few trusted followers, and would be quite unsuitable to a tribe—with women and children. See *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, by J. H. Round (Longmans, 1892), p. 328, who adds that "the Latin *castellum* (corresponding to the Welsh *caer*), continued to be regularly used as descriptive of a fortified enclosure, whether surrounded by walls or earthworks, being even applied by Giraldus Cambrensis to a turf entrenchment at Pembroke". Probably in many cases it was found suitable to build a tower in a former *din* or *caer*, and then utilize the latter as a 'bailey': compare note [1] (*b*), page 120.

[1] "Caiseal is very common in Irish and always used to signify a circular stone fort, and is either cognate with, or derived from, Latin *castellum*; it is found in the most ancient Irish MSS.: the modern form is *cashel*."—Joyce, *The Origin and History of Irish Names of Places*, vol. i., p. 286.

fo. 829

Extract from Peniarth Ms. 118.

Yghwlad Meirionydh ymhlwybh Dol Gelhe y yghymwt Tal y Bont y mae mynydh neu bhann neu bhoel[1] bhawr uchel a elwir Cadeir Idris.[2] Ac yghhylch godreon y brynn mawr hwnn y mae amrybhaelon lhycheu neu lynnodh[3] o dhwblhr. mawr ac uchel (mal y dywedais) yw'r mynydh; ac er i uched, ac er anhawdhed myned drostaw; eissioes os bwrir (medhant) phonn neu brenn aralh ir nebun a bhynnoch or dybhroedh hynny, chwi a gephwch y prenn hwnnw yn y lhynn aralh yn y tu gwrthwyneb ir mynydh hwnn. Ac am na elhir credu yn hawdh alhu o'r prenn bhyned dros draws penn mynydh cyn ucheled ar hwnn hynn yma; ydh ydis yn tybieid bhod rhyw ogobh neu geudawd o'r nailh lynn ir lhalh dann y mynydh yma, mal y galhei y peth a bhei yn y nailh lynn gael ei symud gyd ar y lhalh. Ac ar y coryn uchabh ir mynydh hwnn y mae megis lhun dulh ryw wely, mawr ei hyd a'i led, wedy ei bheiliaw o bhain neu gerric ossodedic oe gylch. a hwnn a elwir Gwely Idris, cyd boed bhod yn debygolach y bhod yn bhedh y cledhyssid Idris yndaw gynt. Ac ebh a dhywedir taw pwy bynnac i dhyn a orwedho ac a gysco ar y gwely hwnnw, un o'r dheu beth a dhamchweina idhaw, nailh ai bod yn Brydydh or bhath oreu, ai ynteu myned yn lhwyr ynbhyd[4] o honaw. Ac . . . .

[1] *moel* is a 'round' height—bare.

[2] Marginal Note:—Cewri Cymru | Idris Gawr | Cymwd Ystym- . . | mer. Ac Arthur | ai lhadhodh. ac | wrth hyny ydh oedhynt | cewri yma yn deyrnasu | yn hir wedy Brutus | Crychan gawr yn | trigo yn Moel Cry- | chan yn gymodawc | Idris gawr. |

[3] *lhycheu* neu *lynnodh*—both terms are vague in denoting the size of sheets of water. The writer may have meant to give alternative forms meaning precisely the same thing.

[4] *ynbhyd*—O.E. ungewittige=unreasonable.

Translation of the Extract.

fo. 829

In the land of Merioneth in the parish of Dolgelly in the commote of Talybont is a mountain or peak or high large mount that is called Cader Idris.[1] And about the foot of this large hill are several lochs or lakes of water. Large and high (as I have said) is the mountain; and though so high, and though so difficult to cross over, yet (so they say) if a stick or other piece of wood be thrown into any you may choose of those waters, you will get that wood in the other lake[2] on the opposite side of this mountain. And as it is not easy to believe that the wood can go over the top of a mountain as high as this one here, it is supposed that there is some cave[3] or hollow from the one lake to the other under this mountain, so that a thing that is in one lake can be moved to the other. And on the highest crown of this mountain is a bed-shaped form as it were, great in length and width, built of slabs or stones fixed around it. And this is called The Bed of Idris, though it is more likely that it is the grave in which Idris was buried in ages past. And it is said that whoever lies and sleeps on that bed, one of two things will happen to him, either he will be a poet of the best kind, or go entirely demented. And . . . .

[1] Marginal Note :—The Giants of Wales | Giant Idris | The Commot of | Ystymmer. And Arthur | killed him. And | by that there were | giants ruling here long after Brutus | Giant Crychan | dwelling in Moel | Crychan | a neighbour | of Giant Idris.

[2] Llyn Gafr and Llyn y Gader on the north side of Cader Idris; Llyn Can on the other side.

[3] Twll yr Ogof on the west flank of Cader Idris.

fo. 829 odhiwrth un or lhynnoedh yssydh dan y mynydh uchel y rhed abhon bhawr. Ac er hynny hagen pryd y damweina habh trassych y bydh eissieu dwbhr wrth bhalu ar y melineu adeiliedic ar lann yr abhon honno. Ac or ethryb hynny y gorbhuwyd yn bhynych rydhhau dwbhr or lhynn hwnnw er achub diphyc dwbhr y melineu. Ac (medhant) ny elhyggwyd dwbhr eirmoed or lhynn hwnnw, heb na bei yn dhiannod ryw dymhestl a dygybhor o law, a tharaneu, a melht neu lyched, yn damchweinaw yn y bhann honno. Ac yn y mynydh uchel hwnn y preswylei gynt anbhad aruthr[1] o gawr, heb dhim lhai meintiolaeth ei gorph no phwy un bynnac o'r cewri uchod, a hwnn a elwid Idris gawr. Ac yn yr un plwybh (Dol Gelhe) y mae mynydh a elwir Moel Yecydion. Ac yn y mynydh hwnn ydh oedh preswylbhan y cawr mawr a elwid Yscydion gawr ac oe enw ebh yr henwid y bhoel honno yn bhoel Yscydion.

fo. 830 Ac ym mhlwybh Lhan Bhachreth y mae bryn neu bhynnydh a elwir Moel Ophrom; yn y lhe y preswylei gynt Ophrom gawr, ac oe enw ebh hebhyd y cabhas y brynn hwnnw ei enw, ac nyd pelh y bhoel honno odhiwrth Bhoel Yscydion, a lhai yw no Moel Yscydion, ac yn yr un wlad a'r un cymwt. Ac yghwlad Meirionydh hebhyd ym mhlwybh lhanylhtyd a chymwt Ardudwy, ac ychydic odhiwrth y moelydh eraill ac or tu aralh i'r abhon a ranna y cymydoedh, y mae brynn aralh a elwir Moel Ysbryn, am bhod Ysbryn gawr ai Dricbhan yno; o enw yr hwnn, y cabhas y brynn ei enw. A'r cewri hynn olh a oedhynt yn anbherth o bheint, ac yn amser Idris gawr, yr hwnn Idris oedh yn deyrn ac yn Bennaeth arnadhunt. Ac yghwlad Meirionydh hebhyd, ac yn agos at Penn Aran ym Mhenlhyn, a thann y lhe a elwir Bwlch y Groes, y mae bedh mawr ei gyhydedh[2] yn y lhe y dywedant dharbhod cladhu Lytta neu Ritta neu Ricca neu

[1] *anbhad aruthr o gawr*=liter. "an unholy terror of a giant".

[2] *Cyhydedh* = 'equality', 'parity'.

from one of the lakes that is under the high mountain runs a large river.[1] And in spite of that when a very dry summer happens there is lack of water to grind in the mills built on the bank of that river. And for that reason it was frequently necessary to release the water from that lake to save the shortage of water of the mills. And (so they say) no water was ever released from that lake, that there was not at once some storm and downpour of rain, and thunder, and lightning, happening in that spot. And in this high mountain formerly lived a big giant, not less in size of body than any of the above giants, and he was called Idris Gawr. And in the same parish (Dolgelly) is a mountain called Moel Yscydion. And in this mountain was the abode of a great giant called Yscydion Gawr and from his name that hill was called Moel Yscydion.[2] fo. 829

And in the parish of Llanfachreth is a hill or mountain called Moel Ophrom,[3] where formerly lived Ophrom Gawr, and it is from his name that that hill derived its name, and that hill is not far from Moel Yscydion, and it is smaller than Moel Yscydion, and in the same country and the same commote. fo. 830

And in the land of Merioneth also, in the parish of Llanelltyd and the commote of Ardudwy, and a little from the other hills and on the other side of the river that divides the commotes, is another hill called Moel Ysbryn, because Ysbryn Gawr had his dwelling there ; from whose name the hill received its name. And all these giants were of enormous size, and in the time of Idris Gawr, which Idris was king and chief over them. And in the land of Merioneth also, and close to Pen Aran in Penllyn,[4] and under the place called Bwlch y Groes, is a grave of great dimensions where they say Lytta or Ritta or Ricca or

[1] *i.e.*, Dysynni River.

[2] Moel Esgidion or Moel Caer Ynwch ('Cantref Meirionydd', gan R. Prys Morris, Dolgellau, 1890, pp. 69, 70): for 'Caerynwch' see Owen Jones's 'Cymru', i., 440, and Cambro-Briton, vol. ii, p. 364 (London, 1821).

[3] 'Now called Moel Offrwm, 1½ miles South of Llanfachraeth'.—Owen Jones's 'Cymru', ii, 258.

[4] In N.-E. Merionethshire and containing Llandderfel and four other parishes.

Rithonwy neu Itto gawr; corph yr hwnn a dharoedh y rei o genedl y cewri ei symud o Eryri, hyd yn agos i bhynydh yr Aran bhawr ym Mhenlhyn. Y Rhicca gawr hwnn, a ymladh-assei Arthur ac ebh, ac a ladhassei yn Eryri. A'r cawr hwnn hynn a wnaethodh idhaw ehun pilis o bharbheu brenhinedh, a ryladhyssei ebh. Ac anbhon a oruc at Arthur i erchi idhaw ynteu bhlighaw[1] ei bharbh ehu-nan a'e hanbhon idhaw.[2] Ac megis ydh oedh Arthur yn bennabh ar y brenhinedh ; ynteu a dhodei ei bharbh ebh yn uchabh ar y pilis[3] o'r barbheu ereilh olh er enrhydedh i Arthur. Ac ony wnelei ebh hynny ; erchi i Arthur dhy-bhod i ymladh ac ebh ; ar trechabh o nadhunt cymered bilis o bharbh y lhalh. A' gwedy eu myned i ymladh y cabhas Arthur y bhudhugoliaeth ac y cymerth bharbh y cawr a'e' bilis,[4]—Itto gawr yn galw . . . ., a dhywedei na chy-bhyrdhyssei ac ebh eirioed yr eilgwr cyn dhewred a'r cawr hwnnw. A' gwedy caphel o Arthur y bhudhugoli-aeth honno, yn yr eil wylbha o'r nos wynt a dhoethant[5]

[1] '*blingo*' means to take the skin off, as well as to 'scalp' his beard.

[2] This demand of Rhitta Gawr is detailed in 'Morte Arthur', I. c. xxvii. See also '*The Mabinogion*', translated by Lady Charlotte Guest, ed. by Ernest Rhys (J. M. Dent & Co.), notes pp. 326-7.

[3] *pilis.* M.E. pilche = a furred garment ; O.E. pylce ; L. pellicea = made of skins.

[4] Marginal Note (Roman numerals denote the number of each five lines) :—

Ac erailh a adrodhant yr hystoria bhal hynn, nyd amgen :

Itto gawr yn galw ehunan (v) bhrehin gwynedh yn amser Arthur a dhanbhones at Arthur i obhyn ei bharbh ef. Ac Arthur ai gom-edhei idho. Ac ar hynny (x) ymgybharbhod a orugant ar benn brynn ai enw bwlch y groes rhwgh mowdhwy a phenlhyn yghwlad meirionydh. Ac yn yr ymgy- (xv) bharbhod drwy dheisybhiad Itto, y bwriassant eu harbheu odhiwrthunt, er probhi eu crybhder. Ac or diwedh wrth ymdrech, a thann (xx) ymdreiglo, y daethant i'r gwastad, y lhe a elwir Blaen Cynlhwyd, wedy tynnu barbheu eu gilydh. ac er cobhiadigaeth am (xxv) hynny, y gelwir y bryn hwnnw, Rhiw y Barbheu, A' gwedy hynny, ymladh a wnaethant ai cledhybheu, yn y lhe y lhadhodh Arthur y (xxx) cawr ; yn yr hwnn lhe y mae bedh Itto oe weled hyd hedhiw yn nhroed y rhiw.

Iwni gawr.

(xxxv) Iwni gawr yn trigo ygghhymwd Penlhyn yn lhe a elwir etto Cebhn Caer Iwni, ar lhe y mae etto (xxxix) ol ei hen gastelh ebh.

[5] Vertical line drawn (as indicated) through the last four lines (32-35).

Rithonwy or Itto Gawr was buried; whose body some fo. 830 of the tribe of the giants removed from Eryri to somewhere near Mynydd Aran Fawr in Penllyn. This Ricca Gawr was the one with whom Arthur had fought and had killed in Eryri. And this giant made this for himself, a robe of the beards of the kings he had killed. And he sent to Arthur to order him to cut off his own (*i.e.*, Arthur's) beard and send it to him. And as Arthur was the chief of the Kings, he would place his beard above the other beards as an honour to Arthur. And if he would not do that, he begged Arthur to come and fight him; and the victorious of them to make a robe from the other's beard. And after they went to fight Arthur had the victory and he took the giant's beard and his robe. Itto Gawr said he never met a second man as brave as that giant. And when Arthur had got that victory, in the second watch of the night they came . . . . .

Marginal Note:—

And others relate the story thus, namely:

Itto Gawr, calling himself king of Gwynedd in the time of Arthur, sent to Arthur to ask for his beard. And Arthur refused it to him. And on this they met on the top of a hill called Bwlch y Groes between Mowddwy and Penllyn in the land of Merioneth. And in the meeting at Itto's wish, they cast their weapons away from them, to prove their strength. And at last by a struggle, and by rolling, they came to the plain, to the place called Blaen Cynllwyd,[1] after plucking each other's beards. And in remembrance of that, that hill is called Rhiw y Barfau.[2] And after that, they fought with their swords, in the place where Arthur killed the giant: in which place is Itto's grave to be seen to this day at the foot of the slope.

Iwni gawr,

Iwni Gawr lived in the commote of Penllyn in a place still called Cefn Caer Iwni,[3] and the place where still is a trace of his old castle.

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[1] *i.e.*, Cwm Cynllwyd, in which a stream runs from Bwlch y Groes to Bala Lake.

[2] Cp. Ffynonau'r Barfau in Bardsey Island. The tradition there is that these small wells were used by the monks for shaving purposes.

[3] Cefn Caereini or Y Gaer, O. Jones's *Cymru*, ii, 64; Caer Creini or Crwyni, Caer Crwyn, O. Jones's *Cymru*, ii, 657 (and map); Caerau Crwyni, Pennant's *Tours*, ii, 205, *Arch. Camb.*, II, ii, 54 ill.; IV, xii, 307 ill.; V, i, 343. Cp. Llyn Creini.

fo. 831 Yghwlad Aber Teibhi ac ym mhlwybh Lhan Dyssiliaw y
mae lhe a elwir Caer Wedros. Ar caer hwnnw a elwid bhelhy ac a elwir etto
o achaws bod Gwedros gawr yn trigiaw yno gynt.
Ac yghwlad Aber Teibhi ac ym mhlwybh Lhan Dyssul yr
oedh cawr yn trigiaw ai enw Howel gawr; a'r lhe yr
oedh yn aros yndaw a elwir etto Castelh Howel gawr.
Ac yghwlad Aber Teibhi ac ym mhlwybh Lhan Bhair or Lhwyn
ydh oedh cawr a elwid Lhyphan gawr, a'r lhe ydh oedh ebh yn tri
giaw yndaw, a elwir etto Castelh Lhyphan gawr.
Ac yghwlad Aber Teibhi ac yn plwybh Bangor ydh oedh Pyscoc
gawr yn preswyl; a'r lhe ydh oedh ebh yn trigaw yndaw a el-
wir etto Castelh Pyscoc gawr.
Tair gwidhones[1] oedh yn wragedh i'r tri chawr dwethabh, nyd amgen,
i Howel gawr, a Lhyphan gawr, a Pyscoc gawr; a'r tair widhones
hynny a ladhwyd (medhant) gan Walchmei nai Arthur;
drwy dhichelhon, herwydh na elhid ei dibha wy mywn modh
amgenach nac yn dhichelhgar, gan bhaint eu crybhder a'i grym.
a thair chwiorydh oedhynt y tair gwidhones hynn; ac obhywn y
tri chastelh y lhadwyd, nyd amgen, castelh Howel, castelh Lhy-
phan, a chastelh Pyscoc, herwydh a dhywedir am danunt.
Yghwlad Aber Teibhi ac ym mhlwybh lhan Dyssul y pre-
swyliei gynt Hedoc gawr; a'r lhe ydh oedh ebh yn preswyl
yndaw, a elwir etto caer Hedoc gawr.

[1] 'gwiddon' (*f*). See Rhys's *Celtic Folk Lore*.

In the land of Aberteifi and in the parish of Llan Dyssil- fo. 831
iaw[1] is a place called Caer Wedros.[2] And that caer was called thus, and is still so called because Gwedros Gawr formerly lived there.

And in the land of Aberteifi and in the parish of Llan Dyssul[3] lived a giant and his name was Howel Gawr; and the place he lived in is still called Castell Howel Gawr.[4]

And in the land of Aberteifi and in the parish of Llanfair or Llwyn[5] was a giant called Llyphan Gawr, and the place he lived in is still called Castell Llyphan Gawr.

And in the land of Aberteifi and in the parish of Bangor[6] lived Pyscoc Gawr; and the place he dwelt in is still called Castell Pyscoc Gawr.[7]

Three witches were wives to the last three giants, namely, to Howel Gawr, and Llyphan Gawr, and Pyscoc Gawr; and those three giantesses were killed (they say) by Gwalchmai[8] the nephew of Arthur by trickery, because they could not be destroyed except by cunning, on account of their strength and power. And three sisters were these three witches; and within the three castles they were killed, namely, Castell Howell, Castell Llyphan, and Castell Pyscoc, according to what is related of them.

In the land of Aberteifi and in the parish of Llan Dyssul formerly lived Hedoc Gawr; and the place he lived in is still called Caer Hedoc Gawr.[9]

[1] Llandyssilio-gogo, or Gogofau, 18 miles W.N.W. of Lampeter and 7½ miles from Aberaeron.

[2] Castell Llwyn Dafydd or Castell Mabwynion (O. Jones's *Cymru*, ii, 61), or Meib Wnion (or Castell Caerwaredros—O. Jones's *Cymru*, i, 77, 315).

[3] Llandyssul, on River Teivi on the Carmarthen border, and 8½ miles E. of Newcastle Emlyn.

[4] Castell Howel or Humphrey. See O. Jones's *Cymru*, i, 78, 280; ii, 62 (bis); *Arch. Camb.*, I, i, 44; III, vi, 172; *Y Geninen*, xxx, p. 144 (1912).

[5] Llanfair-Orllwyn on the River Teivi on the Carmarthen border, and 4 miles E. of Newcastle Emlyn.

[6] Bangor—5½ miles E. of Newcastle Emlyn.

[7] Castell Pistog. See O. Jones's *Cymru*, i, 78, 107.

[8] Is this Gwalchmai ab Gwyar, nephew son of Arthur's sister, by Gwyar, her second husband? O. Jones's *Cymru* i, 602; see also Lady C. Guest's *Mabinogion*, i, 122.

[9] Moel Hebog (Carnarvonshire) is called Moel Hedog or Moli hedog about Criccieth.

fo. 831 Ac yghwlad Aber Teibhi ac ym mhlwybh lhann Drenoc[1] y trigiei gynt Chwîl gawr; a'r lhe ydh oedh ebh yn aros yndaw, a elwir etto Castelh Chwîl gawr.[2]

Yghwlad Aber Teibhi yn ystrad ydh oedh gynt Didhannel gawr, a'r lhe ydh oedh yn aros yndaw oe enw ebh a elwid, ac a elwir etto Castelh Didhannel.

Ac yghwlad Aber Teibhi yn Ystrad uchod y preswyliei Moel gawr, a'r lhe ydh oedh yn trigiaw yndaw, a elwir etto, Castelh Moel.

Ac yghwlad Aber Teibhi, yn lhann Arth ydh oedh Moythyn gawr, a'e breswylbhod a elwir etto Castelh Moythyn.

fo. 832 Yghwlad Aber Teibhi ydh oedh cawr a elwid Mibhod gawr, a'r lhe ydh oedh yn aros yndaw a elwir etto Cwrt Mibhod.

Ac yghwlad Caer Bhyrdhin yn lhann Sawel ydh oedh pedwar o gewri, a'r rhai hynny yn bedwar brodyr; nyd amgen Mabon gawr; ar lhe a gybhanhedhei y cawr hwnn, a elwir hedhiw a henw Castelh Bhabon; a'r ail a elwid Dinas gawr; a'r lhe y preswyliei yndaw a elwir etto Caer Dhinas gawr. a'r trydydh a elwir Chwilcin neu Wilcin gawr; a'r bhan yr arhossei yndaw a elwir etwa Caer Wilccin. A'r pedwerydh a elwir Celgan gawr, a'r lhe y trigiei yndaw a elwir etto Caer Celgan.

[1] 'Wenog' written in ink above 'Drenoc' by later writer.
[2] 'Crug y hwil' written in margin by later writer.

And in the land of Aberteifi and in the parish of Llan fo. 831
Drenoc[1] formerly lived Chwîl Gawr: and the place he abode in is still called Castell Chwîl Gawr.[2]

In the land of Aberteifi in Ystrad[3] was formerly Diddanel Gawr, and the place he lived in was named after him, and is still called Castell Diddanel.

And in the land of Aberteifi in the above Ystrad there dwelt Moel Gawr, and the place he lived in is still called Castell Moel.[4]

And in the land of Aberteifi in Llan Arth[5] was Moythyn Gawr, and his abode is still called Castell Moythyn.[6]

In the land of Aberteifi was a giant called Meifod Gawr,[7] fo. 832
and the place he dwelt in is still called Cwrt Meifod.[8]

And in the land of Caerfyrddin in Llan Sawel[9] were four giants, and these were four brothers, namely Mabon Gawr, and the place in which this giant dwelt is called to-day by the name Castell Fabon; and the second was called Dinas Gawr, and the place he dwelt in is still called Caer Dinas Gawr. And the third is called Chwilcin or Wilcin Gawr, and the place he dwelt in is still called Caer Wilcin. And the fourth is called Celgan Gawr, and the place he lived in is still called Caer Celgan.

[1] Llanwennog—6 miles W.S.W. Lampeter Railway Station.—O. Jones's *Cymru*, i, 78; ii, 179.

[2] Is it identical with Castell Moyddin?—O. Jones's *Cymru* ii, 179. Cf. Castell Moyddyn *infra*.

[3] *Ystrad* (*a*) in Caron îs Clawdd parish near Tregaron.—O. Jones's *Cymru*, ii, 647.
(*b*) in Llanddewi Brefi parish $3\frac{1}{4}$ miles S.W.S. of Tregaron.—O. Jones's *Cymru*, ii, 647.
Ystrad Fflur—$5\frac{1}{2}$ miles N.E. Tregaron.—O. Jones's *Cymru*, i, 274-5.
Llanfihangel Ystrad—$6\frac{1}{2}$ miles S E. Aberaeron.—O. Jones's *Cymru*, ii, 114.

[4] Castell Yspytty Ystrad Meurig.—O. Jones's *Cymru*, i, 78; ii, 646.

[5] Llánarth.

[6] Castell Moeddyn.—O. Jones's *Cymru*, i, 77; II, ii, 298; *Arch. Camb.*, VI, x, 374.

[7] ? Meifod—6 miles N.W. of Welshpool in Montgomeryshire.—O. Jones's *Cymru*, ii, 252. (Other 'Meifods' in Brecknockshire, Radnorshire and Carmarthenshire.)

[8] ? Cwrt Newydd—5 miles W. of Lampeter.—(O. Jones's *Cymru*—map).
? Cwrt Earthwork—*Arch. Camb.*, IV, ix, 344.

[9] Llan sawel or Llan sawyl—8 miles N.W. Llangadock.

fo. 832 Yghwlad Caer Bhyrdhin ac yn lhann y Crwys ydh oedh cawr a elwid Chwermon gawr, a'r lhe yr oedh yn trigiaw yndo, a elwir etto lhwyn Chwermon.

Ac yghwlad Caer Bhyrdhin yn mhlwybh Cynwil ydh oedh cawr a elwid Ladyr neu Radyr gawr; ar lhe ydh oedh yn aros yndaw a elwir etto Bwlch Rhiw Radyr.

Ac yghwlad Caer Bhyrdhin yn Cynwil Gayo ydh oedh cawr a elwid Cynwil gawr, a dyna yr achaws, agatbhydh paham y gelwir y lhe etto Cynwil, a gwr dwywawl ydoedh hwnnw,

Ac yghwlad Caer Bhyrdhin yn lhann lhony ydh oedh Oerbryd neu Eurbryd gawr, a'r lhe ydh oedh ebh yn ei gybhanhedhu, a elwir etto Castelh Ourbryd.

Ac yn yr un plwybh a'r lhe ydh oedh Cymryd gawr, a'r lhe ydh oedh yn trigaw yndaw, a elwir etto Castelh Cymryd.

ygwlad Brycheinawc ynagos i drebh Aber Hodni.

Gogbhran gawr a oedh yn trigo yn Aber Ysgyr yn y caer uch yr abhon.

Mwghmawr drebhi[1] a oebh yn trigo yn caereu yssydh dir yr awr hon i Rosser Howel o'r gaer.

Crystil gawr yn nghwlad y Cruc wrth bont wilim

Crwcast gawr yn trigo ym mhen Crwcast. eraill[2] a dhywedant Crow castell, Castell y brain.

[1] *Mwngmawr Arefi*—'Mug mawr drewydd'—*Black Book of Carmarthen*, J. Gwenogvryn Evans (Pwllheli, 1906), 93-1, 93-6, 108-5.

[2] From this word to the end of the following line is written in a different hand—probably a later note.

In the land of Caerfyrddin and in Llan y Crwys[1] was a fo. 832 giant called Chwermon Gawr, and the place he dwelt in is still called Llwyn Chwermon.

And in the land of Caerfyrddin in the parish of Cynwil[2] was a giant called Ladyr or Radyr Gawr[3], and the place he lived in is still called Bwlch Rhiw Radyr.[4]

And in the land of Caerfyrddin in Cynwil Gayo[5] was a giant called Cynwil Gawr, and that is the reason, perhaps, why the place is still called Cynwil, and he was a godly man.

And in the land of Caerfyrddin in Llan llony was Oerbryd or Eurbryd Gawr, and the place he dwelt in is still called Castell Ourbryd.

And in the same parish and place was Cymryd Gawr, and the place he dwelt in is still called Castell Cymryd.

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="4">In the land of Brycheiniog near to the town of Aber Hodni.</td><td>Gogfran Gawr[6] lived in Aber Ysgyr[7] in the caer above the river.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Mwngmawr drefi lived in the caerau which land now belongs to Rosser Howel of the gaer.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Crystil Gawr in the land of the Cruc by Bont wilim.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Crwcast Gawr dwelling in the top of Crwcast. Others say Castell Crow,[8] Castell y brain.</td></tr>
</table>

[1] Llanycrwys—on Roman road, 4 miles E. by S. of Lampeter Railway Station, and near the Cardiganshire boundary.—O. Jones's *Cymru*, ii, 183.

[2] St. Cynwyl in the sixth century founded

(i) Cynwyl Gaio Church—8 miles N.W. by N. of Llanymddyfri and Caer Caio there situated.—O. Jones's *Cymru*, i, 260.

(ii) Cynwyl Elfed Church—6 miles N N.W. Carmarthen—in Carmarthenshire.—O. Jones's *Cymru*, i, 367.

[3] Is Radyr—Rhaiadr ?

[4] Bwlch y rhiw—5 miles N.W. Conwil Cayo.—O. Jones's *Cymru* (map).

[5] Caer Caio—O. Jones's *Cymru* i, 260.

[6] Gogyrfan Gawr, father of Gwenhwyfar—Caer Ogyrfan (Old Oswestry).—O. Jones's *Cymru*, i, 585.

[7] Aberyscir or Aber-esgair—$3\frac{1}{2}$ miles W.N.W. Aberhonddu. There is 'Y Gaer' or Gaer Bannau (on the East bank of Yscir opposite to the village), also an artificial hillock.—O. Jones's *Cymru*, i, 82.

[8] Crowcastle.

fo. 833 Ac yghwlad Aber Teibhi ydh oedh gynt cyn no dybhod Brutus ir ynys honn, Maylor gawr, a'r lhe y preswylei yndaw, a elwir etto Castelh Maylor adeiliedic ar bhrynn uchel neu drum lann uchel a enwir y Dinas ar y nailh ystlys i'r abhon ystwyth o bhywn rhydhdir trebh Aber Ystwyth. Ac i'r Maylor gawr hwnn ydh oedh tri meib, nyd amgen, Cornippin gawr, a Crygyn gawr, a Bwba gawr. Cornippin gawr a gybhanhedhei gastelh a elwir etto o'i enw ebh ehun, nyd amgen Castelh Cornippin yn gybharwyneb a Chastelh Maylor or ystlys aralh i'r abhon Ystwyth ym mhlwybh Lhan Ychayarn obhywn cymwd Mebhonydh. Ac ebh a dhamchweianawdh i Bhaylor gawr gael ei dhala yn gaeth yn lhe a elwid Cybheiloc yghhylch deudhec milhtir odhiwrth ei gastelh ehun; ac yn barawd cael ei dhodi i agheu, ebh a dheissybhawdh ar ei elynion gael cennad i chwythu yn ei gorn deirgweith cyn godhebh i agheu. yr hynn beth a genhatawyd idhaw. Ac yna y chwythei ebh yn ei gorn y chwythiad cyntabh hyd yny gwympei gwalht ei benn a blew ei bharbh. Ac ar ei eil chwythiad yn ei gorn, cymeint oedh o nerth ac angerdh yn y chwyth ac y cwympei yn lhwyr holh ewinedh byssedh ei dhwylo a'e draed. Ac ar y trydydh chwythiad yn ei gorn y parei angerdh grymm y chwyth ir corn dorri yn gandrylheu mân. Ac yna pan ytoedh ei bhab ebh Cornippin yn hely wrth bharchogaeth ar bharch mawr abhribhed gan arwein ei bhytheiad yn ei law, ac yn clywed lais corn ei dad, ebh a dristaawdh yn dhirbhawr, ac yn bhwy no meint yr hiraethodh am ei dad; a'r lhe hwnnw hyd hedhiw, a elwir Cebhn Hiraethoc. Ac yna y dechreawdh ebh ymchuelud tu ac at ei dad wrth geissiaw ei helpu; ac wrth

And in the country of Aberteifi, before the coming of Brutus to this island, there formerly lived Maylor Gawr, and the place in which he lived is still called Castell Maylor which was built on a high hill or high ridge called Y Dinas[1] on the one side of the river Ystwyth within the boundary of the town of Aber Ystwyth. fo. 833

To this Maylor Gawr were three sons, namely, Cornippin Gawr, and Crygyn Gawr, and Bwba Gawr. Cornippin Gawr dwelt in a castle which is still called after his own name, namely, Castell Cornippin opposite Castell Maylor on the other side of the river Ystwyth in the parish of Llan Ychaiarn[2] within the commote of Meifienydd.[3] And it came to pass that Maylor Gawr was taken prisoner in a place called Cyfeilog, about twelve miles from his own castle; and when on the point of being put to death, he begged of his enemies to permit him to blow his horn three times before suffering death, which thing was allowed to him. And then he blew his horn the first time until the hair of his head and beard fell. And on the second blast of his horn, so great was the strength and force of the sounding that all his finger and toe-nails fell off completely. And on the third blast of his horn the intensity of the force of the sound caused the horn to be broken into small pieces.[4] And then when his son Cornippin was hunting, as he rode on his huge horse and leading his hound by hand, and hearing the sound of his father's horn, he saddened greatly,[5] and he longed beyond measure for his father; and that place, to the present day, is called Cefn Hiraethog. And then he began to return towards his father in seeking to help him; and in . . . .

[1] Dinas Maelor—the old name for 'Y Dinas'—to the S. of Aberystwyth. For a description of it see O. Jones's *Cymru*, i, 84, 85.

> "Adnabod, nid anobaith
> Dinas Maelor o'r môr maith;
> Cael o'r braidd, diwladaidd lwyth,
> O bu rwystr, Aberystwyth."—Cywydd y Mordwyo at Ynys Enlli gan Rhys Llwyd ap Rhys.

[2] Llanychaiarn—village and parish in Cardiganshire, on Ystwyth river, two miles E. of Aberystwyth Railway Station: the Castell stood on the E. bank of the Ystwyth.—O. Jones's *Cymru*, ii, 182.

[3] Mefenydd—a township in Llanrhystyd, Cardiganshire, $8\frac{1}{2}$ miles N.E. Aberaeron.

[4] or 'shattered into fragments'

[5] or 'sorrowed greatly.'

fo. 833 bharchogaeth drwy gymeint o phrwst a buander, ebh a dorres penn ei bhytheiad odhi wrth ei gorph, hyd yn y lynei yn unic yn y gynlhybhan pen a sabhn y ci. A'r lhe hwnnw a elwir etto hyd y dydh hedhiw, Bwlch Sabhn y ci, a phan weles ebh hynny, ebh a yspardynei ei bharch, hyd yny lamhei y march ar un naid dros yr abhon ystwyth i hyd yn gymeint a bod enrhybhedhawd mawr weled amled hyd y gambha. a'r lhe y discynodh y march ar ei naid, a elwir yr awr honn Ol carn y march. Ac bhelhy y daeth Cornippin hyd at ei dad, yn y lhe drwy ymladh y las ynteu hebhyd.

A'r Grygyn gawr a oedh yn trigaw yn Castelh Crygyn obhywn plwybh Lhan Hilar ac yn yr un cymwd.

fo. 834 Bwba[1] gawr a oedh yn trigiaw yn y castelh yssydh a'i enw ebh arnaw etto, nyd amgen Castelh Bwba, ym mhlwybh Lhan Badarn Bhawr yghhymwd perbhedh

Ydh oedhynt y cewri hynn yn buchedhocau yghhymry cyn no dybhod Brutus i'r ynys honn, a'i cynnebhawd oedh hyd tra bhuant bhyw ladh y sawl dhynion bynnac a dhelynt i lettya obhywn eu ceyrydh wy, hyd yn y diwedh dhybhod 'r un dyn[2] ai lhadh wynt eilh-deu yn un nosweith drwy dhichelh.

Odwyn gawr a oedh yn trigaw yn ei caer a elwir etto Caer Odwyn neu Castelh Edwin obhywn plwybh Lhan Badarn Odwyn, y gelwir lhan Badarn Odyn, gan golhi y lhythyr (w) o'r canol.

Rhai a dybiynt bhod Garwed yn gawr, eithr nyd cawr oedh ebh namyn meudwy yn trigiaw obhywn pedeir milhtir i Ystrad F'hlur, mywn lhe a elwir etto Rhiw Garwed; ac yna y cabhas ei ladh gan Gwaith Bhoed, er ys yghhylch pym cant o bhlwydhyneu.

[1] Cp. 'bwbach' a bogey, goblin, scarecrow; is 'bwba', a local name for 'ghost'?

[2] *'r un dyn*='the same man'.

riding with such haste and swiftness, he tore the head fo. 833
of his hound from off its body, until there only remained in the leash the head and mouth of the dog. And that place is still called to this day, The Pass of the Dog's Muzzle. And when he saw that, he spurred his steed until the horse leapt at one bound over the Ystwyth River so that it was a great wonder to see such a length of leap, and the spot on which the horse alighted on his leap, is called to this hour Ol Carn y March.[1] And in that manner Cornippin came up to his father, where after fighting he also was killed.

And Crygyn Gawr dwelt in Castell Crygyn within the parish of Llan Hilar,[2] and in the same commote. fo. 834

Bwba Gawr lived in the castle which still bears his name, namely, Castell Bwba, in the parish of Llan Badarn Fawr[3] in the middle commote.

These giants lived in Wales before Brutus came to this island, and their custom while they lived was to kill whatever men should come to lodge within their strongholds until at last the same man came and killed them both the same night by cunning.

Odwyn Gawr lived in his stronghold which is still called Caer Odwyn or Castell Edwin within the parish of Llan Badarn Odyn, which is called Llan Badarn Odyn,[4] the letter (w) being lost from the middle. Some consider Garwed[5] a giant, but he was not a giant but a hermit living within four miles of Ystrad Fflur,[6] in a place still called Rhiw Garwed; and then he was killed by Gwaith Bhoed, about five hundred years ago.

[1] There is a Glan Olmarch near Cardigan—at Llechryd.

[2] *Llanilar*—5½ miles S.E. Aberystwyth: 'Castle Hill' is one of its chief mansions (O. Jones's *Cymru*, ii, 147).

Ilar (Hilary) was a Saint that flourished at the beginning of the sixth century and was sometimes called Ilar Bysgotwr (O. Jones's *Cymru*, i, 676).

[3] *Llanbadarn Fawr*—a large parish including Aberystwyth—O. Jones's *Cymru*, ii, 14, 15.

[4] *Llanbadarn Odwyn*—3 miles W. of Tregaron Railway Station.—O. Jones's *Cymru*, ii, 18.

[5] Cp. Carwed Fynydd.

[6] Ystrad Fflur or Strata Florida or Caron-uwch-clawdd—5½ miles N.E. Tregaron.

fo. 834 Yghwlad Morgannw ydh oedh Cribwr gawr y yghhastelh
Cebhn Cribwr wrth Lann Gewydh. Arthur a ladhawdh dair
chwaer i Gribwr wrth dhichelh. Canys Arthur a lysenwei ebh
yn Gawl Twym wrth y chwaer gyntabh; ac yn Uwd twym
wrth yr ail chwaer (mal y cerdha'r chwedl), ac wrth y drydedh yn Tameid Bara
a phany y galwei y chwaer gyntabh am help yn erbyn Cawl
Twym, yr attebei Cribwr: mursen gad idho oeri, ac
yn yr un modh yr attebei ir ail chwaer, pan geissiei help
yn erbyn Uwd twym. A'r drydedh chwaer a lebhei bhod
y Tameid Bara yn ei thagu; ac ir attebei ynteu, Mursen
cymer dameid a bho lhai. A phan yr ymliwiei
Cribwr ac Arthur am ladh ei chwiorydh, yr attebei Arthur
drwy eghlyn milwr[1] yn y lhun hynn.

Cribwr cymer dy gribeu
A phaid ath gostoc lidieu
O daw i mi gynyg—dieu
A gawsant wy, a gey ditheu

ny alhei neb ladh y tair chwaer yghhyd, rac maint eu grym
eithr o'r neilhtu drwy dhichelh y lhadhodh Arthur wy.
fo. 835 Ar lhe oi enw ebh a elwir etto Cribarth i.e. garth Cribwr gawr
Ac yn gybheir wyneb ac ynteu ydh oedh cawr a elwid Oyle gawr,
ai dricbhan etto a elwir Penn Oyle.
Ac mywn lhe yn yr un plwybh a elwir etto ynys Cedwyn
ydh oedh cawr aralh a elwid Cedwyn gawr, a'r tri hynn a oedhynt
yn amser Arthur. A'r dhau gyntabh a gawsant eu lhadh gan Arthur.
Ac ym mhlwybh Penn Ederyn, Dynas gawr a gabhas y ladh

[1] See *Yr Ysgol Farddol*, gan Dafydd Morganwg (Caerdydd) 1904—'Englyn Milwr' (p. 133); also 'Triban Milwr' (pp. 125-127) and 'Triban Morganwg' (pp. 127-8)—both of which have been confused with 'Englyn Milwr'.

In the country of Morgannwg was Cribwr Gawr in fo. 834 Castell Cefn Cribwr[1] by Llan Gewydd.[2] Arthur killed three sisters of Cribwr by treachery. Because Arthur nick-named him(self) Hot Pottage to the first sister, and Warm Porridge to the second sister (so the tale runs), and a Morsel of Bread to the third, and when the first sister called for help against Hot Pottage Cribwr answered: Wench, let him cool; and in the same manner he answered the second sister, when she sought assistance against Warm Porridge. And the third sister called out that the Morsel of Bread was choking her; and to this he answered, Wench, take a smaller piece. And when Cribwr reproached Arthur for killing his sisters Arthur replied by an *englyn milwr* in this manner;

Cribwr take thy combs
And cease with currish anger
If I get a real chance—surely
What they have had, thou shalt have too.

No one could kill the three sisters together, so great was their strength, but singly by stealth Arthur killed them.

And the place is still called after his name Cribarth,[3] fo. 835 namely, Garth Cribwr Gawr. And opposite to him was another giant called Oyle Gawr, and his dwelling place is still called Pen Oyle.

And in the same parish in a place still called Ynys Cedwyn[4] there was another giant called Cedwyn Gawr, and these three lived in Arthur's time. And the first two were killed by Arthur.

And in the parish of Pen Ederyn,[5] Dynas Gawr was killed

[1] Cefn Cribwr—4 miles N.W. Bridgend.

[2] Llangewydd—or Trelalys or Laleston—2 miles W. by N. Bridgend. Llangewydd was the original name and founded by Caw, lord of Cwm Cowlyd; the present name is from Lales, the builder of Neath monastery and Margam Abbey.—O. Jones's *Cymru*, ii, 2.

[3] *Cribarth*—a mountain on the S. border of Brecknockshire, near Tawe River, 12 miles N. by E. of Neath.

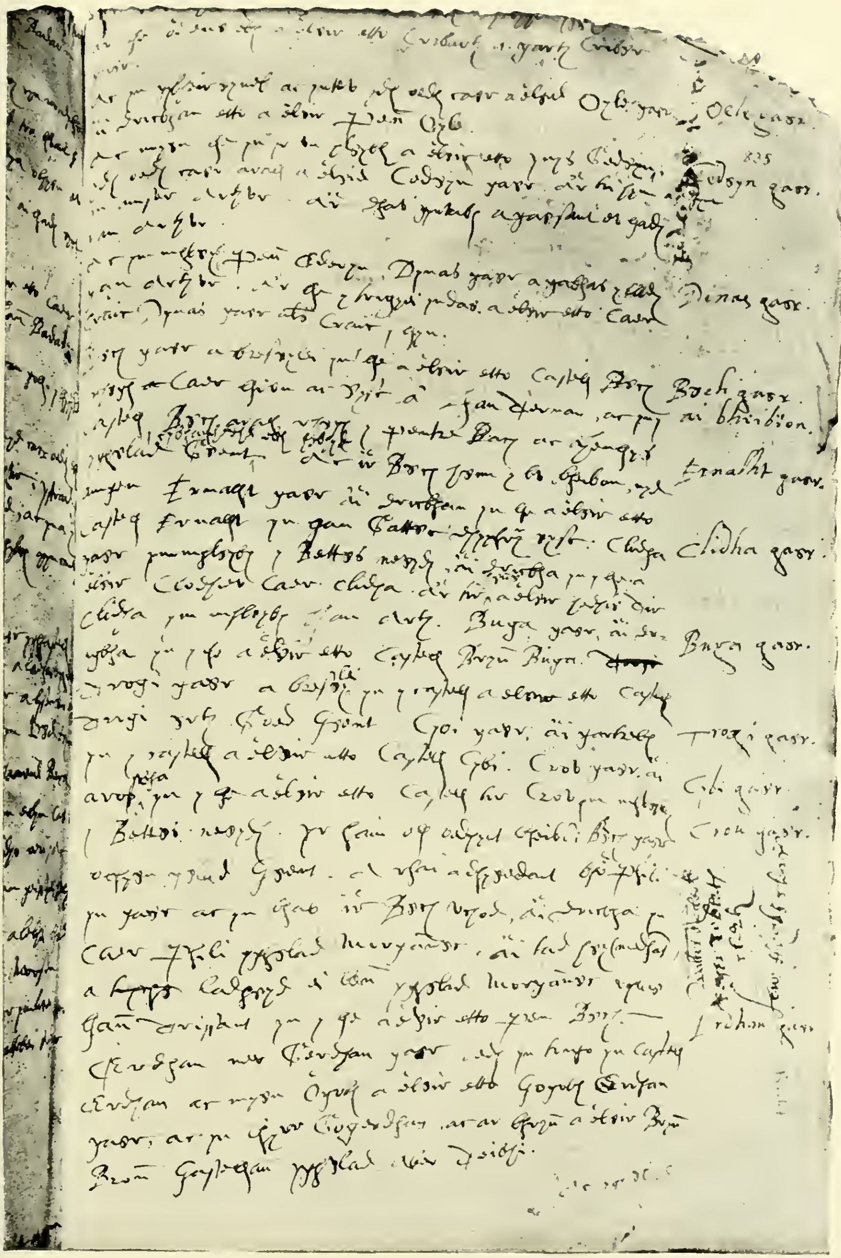
[4] *Ynys Cedwyn*—a township in N. Glamorgan, near the junction of the Tawe and Twrch, and 13 miles N.E. Swansea.

[5] *Penderyn* or Pen y daren, near S. border of Brecknockshire and 7 miles W. by N. of Merthyr Tydvil: a strong old British fort called Craig y Dinas (O. Jones's *Cymru* ii. 661) in the parish (O. J.'s *Cymru* ii, 405).

fo. 835 gan Arthur. A'r lhe y trigyei yndaw a elwir etto Caer Craic Dynas gawr, alias Craic y lhyn.

Bwch gawr a breswylei yn lhe a elwir etto Castelh Bwch rhwgh Caer lhion ar Wysc a lhan Ternan, ac yn y Castelh Bwch aralh rhwgh y pentre Bach ar Henlhys yggwlad Gwent y cybhanhedhei ebh hebhyd, Ac i'r Bwch hwnn y bu bheibion, nyd amgen Ernalht gawr, a'i dricbhan yn lhe a elwir etto Castelh Ernalht yn lhan Gattwc dhyphryn Wysc. Clidha gawr ym mhlwybh y Bettws newydh, ai dricbha yn y lhe a elwir Clodheu Caer Clidha, ar tir hwnnw a elwir hedhiw Tir Clibha ym mhlwybh Lhan Arth. Buga gawr, a'i drigbha yn y lhe a elwir etto Castelh Brynn Buga,

Trogi gawr a breswylei yn y Castelh a elwir etto Castelh Trogi wrth Coed Gwent. Cybi gawr, ai gartrebh yn y castelh a elwir etto Castelh Cybi. Crou gawr, a'i arosbha yn y lhe a elwir etto Castelh tir Crou ym mhlwybh y Bettws newydh, Yr hain olh oedhynt bheibion i Bhwch gawr o bhywn gwlad Gwent. A rhai o dhywedant bhod Phili yn gawr ac yn bhab i'r Bwch uchod, a'i dricbha yn . .


Ogle gaer.
835
Cedyn gaer.
Dinas gaer.
Boch gaer.
ai bhribion.
Ernalht gaer.
Clidha gaer.
Buga gaer.
Trogi gaer.
Gobi gaer.
Crou gaer.
Irdhan gaer

To face p. 142.

PENIARTH MS. 118, FO. 835.

by Arthur. And the place where he dwelt is still called fo. 835
Caer Craig Dynas Gawr, at other times Craig y Llyn.[1]

Bwch Gawr lived in a place still called Castell Bwch between Caerleon on Usk and Llan Ternan,[2] and he also lived in the other Castell Bwch between Pentref Bach and the Henllys[3] in the country of Gwent. And there were sons to this Bwch, namely, Ernallt Gawr, whose dwelling was in the place still called Castell Ernallt in Llan Gattwg[4] in the Usk valley. Clidda Gawr in the parish of Bettws Newydd,[5] and his abode in the place called Cloddeu Caer Clidda, and that land to-day is called Tir Clidda[6] in the parish of Llan arth.[7] Buga Gawr, and his abode in the place still called Castell Bryn Buga,[8] Trogi Gawr dwelt in the castle still called Castell Trogi by Coed Gwent.[9] Cybi Gawr, whose home was in the castle still called Castell Cybi. Crou Gawr, his abode in the place still called Castell Tir Crou[10] in the parish of Bettws Newydd. All these were sons of Bwch Gawr within the country of Gwent. And some say that Phili was a giant and a son to the above Bwch, and his abode in . .

[1] *Craig y llyn*—the highest peak in Glamorganshire, 5 miles W. by N. of Aberdare, and 4 miles S.W. of Penderyn.

[2] Llanfihangel-llantarnam or Llantorfaen—2½ miles N.W. Caerleon-on-Usk (O. J.'s *Cymru*, ii, 109). (On O. Jones's map of Monmouth an encampment is indicated almost midway between Caerleon on Usk and Llan-llantarnam.)

[3] *Henllys*—a parish on the Usk 3½ miles N.W. Newport.

[4] *Llangattwg* (i) in S.W. Brecknockshire, near the Usk opposite Crughowel.—O. J.'s *Cymru*, ii, 125.
(ii) near the Usk in Monmouth, and includes Caerleon-on-Usk; it is two miles N.E. Newport Railway Station.—O. J.'s *Cymru*, ii, 126.
(iii) near the Usk in Monmouth, and 3½ miles S.S.E. Abergavenny —O. J.'s *Cymru*, ii, 126.

[5] *Bettws Newydd*—10 miles S.W. Monmouth and 4 miles N. by W. of the Usk.

[6] *Clytha*—5½ miles S.E. Abergavenny.—O. J.'s *Cymru*, ii, 660. (Clytha Castle is indicated on O. Jones's map of Monmouth.)

[7] *Llanarth*—5 miles S.E. Abergavenny. (There is a 'Llanarth' also in Cardiganshire.—O. J.'s *Cymru*, ii, 11, 12.)

[8] *Bryn Biga* or Usk—13 miles S.W. Monmouth. There are several old forts in the neighbourhood—Craig y Gaercyd or Craig y Gaerwyd, Coed y Gwersyll, Coed y Bonedd (O. J.'s *Cymru*, ii, 660).—O. Jones's *Cymru*, i, 200-202.

[9] *Coed Gwent*—4½ miles S.S-E. of Bryn Buga or Usk.

[10] Cantref Cron Nedd in Glamorganshire; see under Baglan.—O. J.'s *Cymru*, i, 104.

fo. 835 caer Phili yghwlad Morgannwc, a'i tad hwy (medhant) a ladhwyd ei benn yghwlad Morgannwc uchlaw Lhan Trissant yn y lhe a elwir etto Pen Bwch.

Erdhan neu Gerdhan gawr oedh yn trigo yn Castelh Erdhan ac mywn Ogobh a elwir etto Gogobh Erdhan gawr, ac yn bhyrr Gogerdhan, ac ar bhrynn a elwir Brynn Bronn Gastelhann yghwlad Aber Teibhi.

fo. 836 Ac yghwlad Morgannwc y mae lhe a elwir Celh . . . . walhawn gawr, a hynny yw Gors bhawr obhywn Coed phranc rhwgh Castelh Nedh ac Abertawi.

Ac y mae lhe a elwir Rhyd Penn y Cawr rhwgh Lhann Sawel a' Chwrt y Betws, yghwlad Bhorgannwc, yn y lhe y torrwyd penn Lhoches Gawr.

Ac yghwlad Bhorgannwc y mae mann a elwir Bedh Dilic[1] Gawr, rhwgh Lhan Sawel a Baglann a'r Bedh hwnn hynn yssydh yn chwanec i dec ar ugeint troedbhedh o hyyd.

Tarnoc Gawr ym mhlwybh Merthyr yn nyphryn Hodni yghwlad Bhrycheinoc.

Medhgyrn Gawr ym mhlwybh Aber Ysgyr yn yr un wlad Bhrycheinawc.

Dyrnhhwch gawr yghwlad Euas.

Gwrle gawr, a'r lhe y trigiei yndaw a elwid Caer Gwrle[2] nyd pelh odhiwrth Caer lheon Gawr a'r Dhybhrdwy.

Iestyn Gawr ai driebha yn lhann Iestyn, wrth Garth Beibio.

1 'Dilyc' in margin.

2 "Y garles o gaer Gwrlai.
I garu y gwr o Gaer Gai—Ieu. Br. Hir. (Elis o Ddyffryn Alun)
—*Llan St.*, 133, p. 320.

Caer Phili[1] in the country of Morgannwg, and their father (they say) was killed in the country of Morgannwg above Llantrissant in the place still called Pen Bwch. fo. 835

Erddan or Gerddan Gawr was living in Castell Erddan and in a cave still called Gogof Gerddan Gawr, and briefly Gogerddan, and on a hill called Bryn Bron Gastellan[2] in the country of Aberteifi.

And in the country of Morgannwg is a place called fo. 836
Cell . . . . Wallawn[3] Gawr, and that is a big marsh in Coed Ffranc between Neath Castle and Swansea. And there is a place called Rhyd Pen y Cawr between Llan Sawel and Cwrt y Betws[4] in the country of Morgannwg, where Lloches Gawr had his head cut off.

And in the country of Morgannwg is a spot called Bedd Dilic Gawr, between Llan Sawel and Baglan[5] and this grave is over thirty feet in length.

Tarnoc Gawr in the parish of Merthyr[6] in the valley of Hodni[7] in the country of Brecknock.

Meddgyrn Gawr in the parish of Aber Ysgyr in the same country of Brecknock.

Dyrnhwch Gawr in the country of Euas.

Gwrle Gawr, and the place he dwelt in was called Caer Gwrle not far from Caerlleon Gawr and the Dee.

Iestyn Gawr[8] and his dwelling in Llaniestyn, by Garth Beibio.[9]

[1] *Caer Phili.*—O. Jones's *Cymru*, i, 235-241.

[2] *Bron Castellan*—township in Llanbadarn Fawr near E. border of Cardiganshire, on the Aberystwyth-Llanidloes high road, 11 miles E. Aberystwyth.—O. J.'s *Cymru*, i, 83.

[3] ? Cellywion or Celliwyn village in Llantrisant parish, in Miscyn hundred, N.W. Cardiff.

[4] Bettws—4 miles N. Bridgend.

[5] Baglan—3 miles S. of Neath.

[6] Merthyr Cynog—a parish 8 miles N.N-W. Aberhonddu; there are traces of the remains of a British Camp on a hill named Allfarnog in this parish.—O. J.'s *Cymru*, ii, 266-7.

[7] Dyffryn Honddu—in Merthyr Cynog, Brecknockshire.

[8] (i) Iestyn ab Cadfan—a Saint of the fourth century.—O. J.'s *Cymru*, i, 672.
(ii) Iestyn ab Geraint ab Erbin—founded churches in Llaniestyn (Anglesey and Carnarvon).—O. J.'s *Cymru*, i. 672.
(iii) Iestyn ab Gwrgant—a traitor to the Welsh.—O. J.'s *Cymru*, i, 672.

[9] Garth Beibio—a parish 8 miles N.W. Llanfaircaereinion.

fo. 836
Cornbwch Gawr yn trigiaw yn y Graic donn, rhwgh Trebhyclawdh a'r Cnwclas.
Bedh Gnerys Gawr y sydh obhywn plwybh lhan ym Mow-
dhwy, yn agos at le a elwir Bwlch Sabhn âst, yghwlad Bheirionnydh.
Drewyn[1] Gawr a wnaeth Caer Drewyn yn y Deyrnion, am yr abhon a
Chorwen. Ac yw gariad y gwnaeth y Gaer honno, er godro ei gwarthec yndi,
Ac ar gybher Caer Dhrewyn y mae Cebhn Heini, a lhynn Heini[3] Gawr
y dhau le hynn a gawsant eu henwi gan y cawr Heini.
Ac yn ymyl parc Glocaenawc y mae lhe a elwir Sarn y Trichawr yr hwnn
a wnaed gan dri chawr mywn gwayn, er galhi sebhylh yn gadarn o rann dau
erailh i alhu ymladh ae gilydh; a phan ledhid un o honunt, bod i'r dhau erailh
gybhymladh, ac i'r neb or dhau a orbhydhei o'r dhau hynny, cael o hwnnw
y peth a ardhelid am danaw, oblegyd y chweryl hwnnw.
Mywn lhe a elwir Glascoed yghwlad Trebhaldwyn y mae bedh tri chawr sebh
Meichiad Gawr yr hwnn a oedh yn cadw moch; ac oi enw ebh y gelwid nant
a diphryn Meichiad a Cwm glann Meichiad; yn y lhe y caphad ei gylhelh ebh a'i bibelh. Ac Aedh-
an Gawr; ac oi enw ebh y cabhas Bwlch Aedhan ei enw. Ac ym mhlwybh
Meibhod y maent y dhau le hynny sef y nant a'r bwlch.
fo. 837 Ceimiad gawr y sydh a bedh idhaw ar lawr dyphryn Mochnant
yn lhe a elwir lhwyn y meini hirion ar bhin nant Ceimiad,
ym mhlwybh Pennant Mylaghelh, lhe y cawssei ei ladh (medhant)
gan Arthur, a'r dhau bhain hirion yn terbhynu hyyd y bedh,
un ym mhob penn idhaw.

[1] From line 25 to bottom of the page appears in the same ink as the preceding lines, but lines 25-38 are crowded into the page.

[2] Caer Euni, now Llyn Creini (see *Iwni Gawr*, pp. 128-129 notes).

Cornbwch Gawr dwelling in the Graig don, between fo. 836
Trefyclawdd and Knucklas.[1]

The grave of Gnerys Gawr is within the parish of Llan yn Mawddwy near a place called the Pass of the Bitch's Mouth, in the country of Merioneth.

Drewyn Gawr made Caer Drewyn[2] in Deyrnion,[3] the other side of the river from Corwen. And to his sweetheart he made that Caer, to milk her cows within it. And opposite Caer Drewyn is Cefn Heini, and the lake of Heini Gawr. These two places were named by the Cawr Heini. And near the park of Glocaenawg[4] is a place called Sarn y Trichawr which was made by three giants in a marsh to be able to stand firmly in respect of two others in order to fight one another; and when one of them was killed, for the other two to fight each other, and whichever of the two triumphed, he was to receive the thing that was claimed, because of that quarrel.

In a place called Glascoed[5] in the country of Montgomery is the grave of three giants, namely, Meichiad Gawr who kept pigs; and after his name was called Nant and Dyffryn Meichiad and Cwm Glan Meichiad; where his knife and flute were found. And Aeddan Gawr[6]: and after him Bwlch Aeddan was called. And in the parish of Meifod are those two places, namely, the Nant and the Bwlch.

Ceimiad Gawr has a grave in the soil of Dyffryn fo. 837
Mochnant in a place called Llwyn y Meini Hirion near Nant Ceimiad, in the parish of Pennant Mylangell,[7] where he was killed (so they say) by Arthur, and two long stones mark the length of the grave, one at each end.

[1] Cnwclas—2½ miles N.W. Knighton (Trefyclawdd), Radnorshire. Garth Hill and Race Course are situated between Trefyclawdd and Cnwclas.—O. J.'s *Cymru*, ii, map of Radnor.

[2] Caer Drewyn—1 mile N.E. Corwen in Merionethshire.

[3] Edeyrnion—a valley and cantref between Bala and Corwen by the bank of the Dee.

[4] Clocaenog—a parish 3½ miles S.W. Ruthin.

[5] Glascoed—one mile S.W. Meifod in Montgomeryshire.

[6] Aeddan, son of Blegwryd, killed in 1015.

[7] Pennant or Pennant Melangell—a parish 9½ miles N.W. by W. of Llanfyllin, Montgomeryshire.

fo. 837 Ydh oedh lhe ym mlaeneu gwlad yr Amwythyc, a elwid Bronn Wrgan, a phreswylbhod cewri ydoedh y bhann honno

Ac yn y lhe hwnn yr adrodhid bod rhyw bhrodyr i Wenhwybhar bherch Gogbhran . . gawr, mywn ceithiwed carchar gan rai o'r cewri hynn. A drwc anianawl oedh gantei y bod wy yn geith. Eithr Arthur au gwaredawdh wy cymeint ar un,[1] gan ladh y cewri, a chymrud penn y mwyabh o honunt ai bhyrw i berbhedh yr abhon yn lhe maen, wrth lamhu dros yr abhon, er myned i gastelh y Cnwclas. Ac wrth dhodi ei droed ar iad y cawr wrth lamhu dros yr abhon, y dywawd[2] Arthur tybhed yr iad yn yr abhon yn lhe maen. Ac o hynny alhan y gelwid yr abhon honno yn Abhon Tybhediad, megis tybhed ymliad y cawr.

[1] Cimin un / Cymaint un } =' each one'—an idiom long since dead: see Ed. Prys' *Salms* for example.

[2] dywawd (dywod)=said.

Note on the word *Caer* (see p. 119). After the foregoing pages were set the following note was received from Mr. J. Glyn Davies, of the University of Liverpool:—

"The word *Caer* cannot be traced back before the Roman occupation, nor does it occur in the British place-names recorded by the early geographers. That *Caer*, which subsequently became so widespread a term, should be missing in the earliest sources, shews pretty clearly that it must be a loan word, and from its vogue both in Brittany (*Ker*) and in Wales, a Latin loan word. The Latin *castra*, *castrum*, would give a satisfactory meaning, but by no ascertained phonetic process can the *st* be got rid of. There is another Latin word, however, which was more probably the origin of *caer*, and that is *quadrum*, in its modified form *cadrum* (see Maigne D'arnis), a word that would precisely hit off the rectangular form of the Roman fort. Phonologically the fit is perfect. The *d* in combination with *r* drops

There was a place on the frontier of the land of Shropshire, called Bron Wrgan, and it was the abode of giants. fo. 837

And in this place it is related that there were some brothers to Gwenhwyfar,[1] the daughter of Gogyrfan Gawr,[2] who were imprisoned by some of these giants. And she grieved greatly they were in captivity. But Arthur saved them each one, killing the giants, and taking the head of the biggest of them and throwing it into the middle of the river instead of a stone, in stepping across the river, to go to Castell y Cnwclas. And as he placed his foot on the head of the giant in stepping across the river Arthur said, Let the head grow in the river instead of a stone. And henceforth that river was called Afon Tyfed-iad, as the side of the giant's head grew.

[1] "Gwenhwyfar, ferch Gogyrfan Gawr,
Drwg yn fechan, gwaeth yn fawr."

[2] Gogyrfan was the chief of a part of Powys in the sixth century.—O. Jones's *Cymru*, i, 585.

out and leaves a dipthong behind, as in *cadeir* (cathedra), *Eirion* (Hadrianus), *chwaerfan* (quadrimanus). How *caer* came to be applied to older British forts is a question for archæologists to decide"—V.E.

ERRATA.

Page 124, line 13, for *gyd* read *hyd*.
„ 126, „ 34, for *Yecydion* read *Yscydion*.
„ 128, „ 32, delete *Itto Gawr yn galw* . . . . (as an interlineation for "a marginal note") and insert *A gwedy hwnnw* (?) *ebh*.
„ 129, „ 15, delete *Itto Gawr*, and read, *And after that he*.
„ 134, note 1, for *Mungmawr Arefi* read *Mungmawr drefi*.
„ 139, line 16, for *middle commote* read *commote of Perfedd*.'
„ 139, „ 24, for *Llan Badarn Odyn which is called* read *Llan Badarn Odwyn, which is called*.
„ 139, „ 28-29, for *Gwaith Bhoed* read *Gweithfoed*.

INDEX OF NAMES.

(Nos. refer to folios of Peniarth Ms., and *m* to the marginal note.)

D.

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I.

L.

Owen Glyndwr and the Welsh Church.

By J. Arthur Price, M.A.

It is well known that Owen Glyndwr, with the advice of the ecclesiastics who supported him, transferred the spiritual allegiance of Wales from Gregory XII of Rome, the Pope, recognised in the days of the great schism by England, to Benedict XIII of Avignon, the Pope recognised by France and Scotland. John Trevor, the Bishop of St. Asaph, who had passed from the English to the Welsh side in the revolution, must have supported this move, and about the same time Llewelyn, or Lewis, Bifort was, apparently with the sanction of the Avignonese Pope, elected on Glyndwr's nomination to the See of Bangor in place of the exiled owner of the dignity, Richard Young. Bishop Stubbs (*Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum*, p. 178) says that Bifort was never recognised by the English Church. However this may have been, he subsequently put in an appearance at the Council of Constance as "Ludovicus Bangorensis". At any rate from 1404 to 1408 Glyndwr's party were supreme in the North Wales dioceses, and had much influence in South Wales. It was during these years that the Welsh clerics (whose names occur in the list extracted from the Avignonese Register), visited the Papal Court in the hopes of obtaining ecclesiastical promotion. The journey must have been expensive, the fees high, and the risk of being hung as traitors if they fell into English hands considerable. The fact that so many Welsh clerics, bore the trouble and expense and took the risk, which in the end led to no result, proves that they must have entertained a reasonable expectation that

Glyndwr would triumph and that Wales would shortly become an independent state.

Roll of the Welsh.

(*Calendar of Papal Register*, i, pp. 623, 624.)

1406.

John Boughton, of noble birth, for a benefice in the gift of the Bishop of St. Davids.

Matthew ap Ievan Lloyt, of noble birth, for the like.

Griffin ap Ievan, of noble birth, for the like, notwithstanding that he is dispensed on account of illegitimacy, and has the perpetual vicarage of St. Teilaus, in the diocese of Llandaff, which he is ready to resign.

Granted for all. Savona 13, Kal. July, anno 12.

Matthew ap Ievan Loyt. That the Pope would expedite letters for a canonry and prebend of St. Davids, inasmuch as he is not a graduate although he is of noble birth, and cannot have the former letters expedited.

Granted. Finale, in the diocese of Savona. 5 Non., July, anno 12.

Philip ap Ll, of the diocese of Llandaff, for the benefice in the gift of the Bishop and Chapter of St. David.

Granted. Dated as above.

Gregory ap Ivan, efferiat, of the diocese of St. Asaph, for a benefice in the gift of the Bishop and Chapter of St. Davids, notwithstanding that he is dispensed as the son of a priest.

Granted. Marseilles. 18th Kal. Feb., anno 13.

1407.

Iorwedith ap David ap Iorwerth. For a benefice in the gift of the Bishop and Chapter of St. Davids.

Roger ap Ieuan. For the like.

Mereduth ap David ap Gruffuth, for the like.

Granted for all. Marseilles. 6 Id. Jan., anno 13.

The Welsh National Emblem: Leek or Daffodil.

A Note by ARTHUR HUGHES, B.A.

The lines quoted in the last volume of *Y Cymmrodor* (xxvi, 155) from Wynkyn de Worde's *Chronicles of England* are, in the text, erroneously attributed to Caxton. This was done in reliance upon a note in Sir Henry Ellis's edition of Brand's *Popular Antiquities* (ed. 1813, p. 89) where he states that the lines referring to the Leek are from "Caxton's *Description of Wales* at the end of *The Scholemaster of St. Alban's Chronicle*". This *Description of Wales* has, however, a very much earlier origin and is John Trevisa's translation of the *Description of Wales* in rhymed Latin verse contained in Higden's *Polychronicon*. Higden died in 1363, and Trevisa informs us that he finished his translation of Higden's Chronicles in 1387. Ralph Higden, monk of Chester, was, however, only a compiler of Chronicles, and the real author of the Latin verse *Description of Wales* in his *Polychronicon* is assumed to be Walter Map, the Welshman, and intimate friend of Giraldus Cambrensis. The poem is attributed to Map in an old list of his works, and, as he died *c.* 1210, we may claim that the Welshman's great affection for leeks was recognised by a Welsh writer more than 250 years before Caxton printed his first book at Westminster.

The Latin lines referring to the Leek are these :—

His pultis ad legumina
Pro epulis acrumina

. . . .

Ad mensam et post prandium
Sal, porri sunt solatium.

Trevisa's translation is :—

> They have gruel to potage
> And lekes kynde to companage
> . . . .
> Atte mete and after eke
> Her solace is salt and leke.

The last two lines are seen to be translated quite literally; but the word *acrumina* (acrumen) translated as 'lekes kynde' is not to be found in any standard Latin dictionary, and it apparently puzzled the scribes because one MS. reads *Pepulis acrimonia*. There was, however, a Low-Latin word, *agrumen* (*agrumina*) signifying 'the leek species', "olerum genus acrimoniam aliquam habens ut porri, allia, etc." (*Vide*, a quotation from the *Acta Sanctorum*, a Bollando edita, given in Maigne D'Arnis' Lexicon of Mediæval and Low Latin, Paris, 1866, sub *agrumen*). The *acrumina* of the *Polychronicon* is, therfore, in all probability, a scribe's mistake for *agrumina* and thus correctly translated as 'lekes kynde' by Trevisa. (For the full texts of the Latin and English verse see *Chronicles of Great Britain and Ireland*, Rolls Series, vol. i (1865) and *Latin Poems*, by Walter Map, Camden Society's publications.)

There are several other references to the leek in Elizabethan and Stuart literature in addition to those given in volume xxvi of *Y Cymmrodor*. Incidentally they show how very common the practice of wearing the leek on St. David's Day must have been; otherwise the casual references found would not have been appreciated by theatre audiences. An interesting one is found in the old play *Northward Hoe*, by Dekker and Webster, published 1607, but probably written in 1601, where Captain Jenkins, the Welshman swears: "By all the leekes that are worn on St. Davies day". There is also a curious tract among the Commonwealth Tracts in the British Museum, attri-

buted to the year 1642, dealing with the leek custom. It is entitled, "The Welchman's Jubilee: To the Honour of St. David: Showing the manner of that Solemn Celebration which the Welshmen annually hold in honour of St. David. Describing likewise the True and rea (*sic*) Cause why they wear that day a Leek on their Hats. With an excellent merry sonnet, annexed unto it. Composed by T. Morgan, Gent." It shows that the origin of the custom was no less a puzzle then than it is now. The author states: "Some report that they wear this leek because of their general affection unto it: Others affirm the cause to be, because of the numerous multitude of Leekes that grow in their: (*sic*) but either of these are fallible: for it is more credibly declared, that S. David when hee always went into the field, in Martiall exercise he carried a Leek with him; and once being almost faint to death, he immediately remembered himself of the Leek and by that means not onely preserved his life but also became victorious: hence is the Mythologie of the Leek derived". Although Morgan's explanation of the origin of the leek custom is not convincing, his doggerel verses—in no way a sonnet—most convincingly prove him to have been an ardent Royalist and no Cromwellian.

The leek in literature throws a curious side light upon the determination of Welshmen to make S. David a fighting patron saint whose achievements are by no means eclipsed by those of S. George.

Beau Nash: The Welsh Dandy.

By W. LLEWELYN WILLIAMS, K.C., M.P.

Recorder of the City of Cardiff.

"Born in an obscure village and from mean ancestors"—to quote from his Latin epitaph—he refused a knighthood at the hands of two sovereigns before he was 30; living during a prolonged life like a Prince and yet with no visible means of subsistence; without looks, for "his person was clumsy and his features harsh and peculiarly irregular", he was noted for his gallantry and he was the undisputed King of English Fashion for over half a century, the *arbiter elegantiarum* in the days of the Dandies, "the glass of fashion and the mould of form"; lampooned by Lord Chesterfield and snarled at by Pope, he was great or fortunate enough to have Oliver Goldsmith for his biographer, and in our own days George Meredith for his subtle and slightly mocking eulogist, and so severe a moralist as Lecky for his admirer; without wit, he was the most quoted talker of his day; without learning—for he left Oxford without a degree and having eaten his dinners was never called to the Bar—he had more books dedicated to him than almost any patron of his time; without family, he was the friend of Princes, he exchanged snuff-boxes and compliments with the Prince of Orange and Frederick, Prince of Wales, he was rude with impunity to great ladies, and saved Dukes and Earls from the consequences of their folly; he refused flatly the petition of Princess Amelia for an extra dance, and he tore her white apron from her Grace the Duchess of Queensberry and threw it, in a public room, to her ladies-

in-waiting; a gambler, a spendthrift, and a rake, he was the confidential adviser in all matters of business of grim old Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, the shrewdest and richest and most grasping woman of her age; a graceless adventurer, his death eclipsed the gaiety of the nation, and his public funeral evoked as much attention and eulogy as if he had indeed been a throned monarch: who can deny the quality of romance to the amazing career of Richard Nash, the Welsh Dandy, whom George Meredith has described as the first and perhaps the last of the philosopher-beaus of England?

Richard Nash was born at Swansea on October 18th, 1674. The house where he was born still stands in Goat Street, and a tablet distinguishes it from its meaner fellows with the legend that it is Beau Nash's birthplace. His father was a partner in a glass-house, and originally came from Pembrokeshire—from Haverfordwest, if I mistake not. His mother was the niece of that Colonel Poyer, who, after fighting on the Parliament side, took the field against Cromwell, and was shot for his pains in London, after his defeat at the Battle of St. Fagan's.

In those days Swansea was a place of no great account. In our estimation it was something more than "an obscure village", but it was insignificant as compared with towns like Bath or Bristol, or even Carmarthen. The "glass-house" in which the elder Nash was partner was not a great affair, for our hero never seems to have been encumbered with much of this world's gear. Still, Richard Nash, the elder, must have been a man of substance, for he sent his son to school at Carmarthen under one Maddocks, and thence to Jesus College, Oxford, where he matriculated in March, 1691-2, at the mature age of 16½. But the future Beau was a precocious youth. He soon entered upon a love-passage with an adventurous damsel

in or near Oxford. He received the blessing of the lady's father, and proposed and was accepted by the fair Amaryllis. The College authorities, ever ready to destroy love's young dream, and in those days entirely composed of vinous celibates, got wind of our hero's romantic escapade and promptly sent the young gentleman down. He shook the dust of Oxford from off his feet and never returned.

Young Richard, having once tasted the joys of adventure, soon took wing from the Goat Street nest. He managed somehow to "purchase a pair of colours in the army", or, in other words, he bought a commission. His biographer goes on to say that he "dressed the part to the very edge of his finances". Some admirers have suggested that he was able to do all this by the help of his father; but Goldsmith, who knew Beau Nash and who read through the papers which the old Beau had written with a view to publishing his autobiography, will have none of this. He thinks that Beau Nash, thus early, began to live on his wits, and was even then a skilled gamester. He relates indeed many tales, amusing but unedifying, of the shifts to which our poor hero was driven in order to maintain his position in the world. He did not remain long in the army. The strictness of the discipline appalled him, and the pay was too small for a young gentleman whose ambition it was to set the fashion to the bucks about town. He sold out, therefore, and with the price of his commission, he was able to enter his name at the Inner Temple. There he met a society after his own heart. He became distinguished for his fine manners, his fashionable dress, and the gaiety of his wit. No one knew where he got his money from, and no one particularly cared. Indeed, it was commonly reported that he rode out to Hounslow Heath and held up fat

graziers and pursy parsons: and no one seems to have thought the worse of him! Let me hasten to add that there is no tittle of evidence that our hero ever did anything so crude. Had he done so, we may be sure that in the garrulity of his old age, when he was fond of boasting of his youthful prowess, he would not have refrained from mentioning the fact. He did tell Goldsmith many stories of the absurd wagers which he made in order to raise the wind. Once he rode naked through a village on the back of a cow; another time he stood at the main door of York Minster for an hour with only a sheet over him, and he recalls his encounter with the Dean who happened to know him. But the chief source of his income was the gaming tables.

When he was a Templar, his Gracious Majesty King William III paid a State visit to the Middle Temple. So great by this time was the reputation of Nash that, through a member of the Inner Temple, he was asked to become the Superintendent of the Pageant with which it was the custom in those days to entertain the monarch. Nash accepted the task, and pleased King William so much that he offered to knight the young spark of 24. "An it please your Majesty to make me a Knight", was the reply, "let me be made a poor knight of Windsor, for then I shall have the means to support the title". But the shrewd Dutchman did not take the hint, and the needy Pageant-Director remained plain Richard Nash.

On another occasion—though of this we have no details—Nash refused a knighthood. This time it was Queen Anne who was snubbed by his refusal. Queen Anne is dead, and we all know the rule, *nil nisi bonum de mortuis.* But historic truth compels one to admit that her Gracious Majesty was a weak, silly old dame. In those days there were no music halls to amuse the tired brain of Royalty,

no Harry Lauders to entertain them. So they kept a tame jester at Court, and Queen Anne's was a fool called William or Billy Reid. I suppose the poor lady laughed one day more heartily than usual at Billy's quips, and forthwith got him on his knees, popped out a sword, and smacked him on the shoulder, crying, "Rise, Sir William!" And the Court laughed at the merry jest for nine days. Shortly after—whether it was that our hero had superintended another pageant or that one of his puns amused Her Majesty—the poor Queen, who was ever kind, wanted to knight Dick Nash. "No, madam, an it please you", replied he, drawing back in alarm, "for if you knight me, Billy Reid will call me brother".

But it was through his connection of nearly sixty years with the city of Bath that Nash attained perennial fame. In 1703, Bath had become a fashionable resort because of Queen Anne's visit to the Wells. The ruck of fine society went thither, and as play was almost the only recreation of the great in those days, it was no wonder that the fame of Bath became second only to that of London for the vastness of the sums that were staked. Thither therefore went all the professional gamesters of England for the season. The first to try to exploit the virgin soil was one Captain Webster, whose name would have been forgotten but for Nash's reminiscences to Goldsmith. In 1705, however, two years after the Queen's visit, Richard Nash went to Bath, and for well nigh sixty years his name was synonymous with that of the famous Wells. He became the uncrowned King of Bath. Within its confines, he was a more autocratic monarch than ever a Tudor was on the English throne. None dared dispute his laws. He reigned by ridicule, for an Englishman fears nothing so much as being laughed at. He decreed that no cavalier should come to the Assembly Rooms wearing a sword,

which hitherto had been looked upon as the unmistakeable mark of a gentleman. So arbitrary a rule, sinning against all the conventions of a rude society, might be thought to be certain of defeat, but, so great was the masterful dominance of Beau Nash—as he now came to be called—that the custom took deep root, not only in Bath, but between the years 1720 and 1730 in London as well. Even to-day in France and Germany the duel is regarded as a proper method of settling disputes between gentlemen. The decline of the duel in England may be dated from the reign of Beau Nash, and were it only for this advance in the amenities of social life, his name deserves to be held in lasting esteem.

The squires of England in those rude days were little better than clodhoppers. Fielding's "Squire Western", with his clownish talk and uncouth manners, was true to type. They were the bane of Beau Nash's early reign. They came to Bath in their riding gear, full of coarse jests and vulgar oaths. This was more than the Welsh Dandy could stand. He lampooned them in verse, he ridiculed them on the stage, till at last not one of them durst appear in the Assembly Rooms in his riding boots, and ladies were freed from the vulgarities of their drunken insolence. Bath, then, became the mirror of polite society and for the first time, English manners became comparable with those of England's polite neighbour across the Channel.

It would take too long to tell what Beau Nash did for Bath. He built the Assembly Rooms, he gave a code of manners and customs which were more strictly enjoined than the laws of the Medes and Persians, he widened the roads, he embellished the streets, he provided musical bands, and he made Bath the capital of English Fashion. He was generally known as the King of Bath, and his

jurisdiction extended for miles without the city walls. He had neither Crown nor Constitution, but for well nigh sixty years he ruled as a despotic monarch. He had the power to exile any offender from the circle, his smiles were courted by princes and poets and peers. When he rode to Tunbridge, which he did once a year, it was in a great chariot drawn by six greys, with outriders, running footmen, and French horns. He always wore a buckle over his stock in front, the wonder of mankind, and till the day of his death he was never seen wearing ought but his white hat. He gave the laws to the young bloods of England, and no one could hope to hold a place in society on whom Beau Nash had frowned.

It was when he was at the zenith of his fame and fortune that he encountered an adversary against whom he was powerless. John Wesley came to Bath on June 5th, 1739, and met the uncrowned king. Let John Wesley tell the tale himself as he has given it in his *Journal*—"There was great expectation at Bath," he relates "of what a noted man was to do to me there; and I was much entreated not to preach, because no one knew what might happen. By this report I gained a much larger audience, among whom were many of the rich and great. . . . . Many of them . . . . were sinking into seriousness when their champion appeared, and coming close to me, asked by what authority I did these things. I replied, 'By the authority of Jesus Christ, conveyed to me by the (now) Archbishop of Canterbury', when he laid hands upon me and said, 'Take thou authority to preach the Gospel'. He said, 'This is contrary to Act of Parliament, this is a conventicle'. I answered, 'Sir, the conventicles mentioned in that Act (as the preamble shows) are seditious meetings, but this is not such; here is no shadow of sedition; therefore it is not contrary to that Act'. He

replied, 'I say it is; and besides, your preaching frightens people out of their wits'. 'Sir, did you ever hear me preach'? 'No.' 'How then can you judge of what you have never heard?' 'Sir, by common report.' 'Common Report is not enough. Give me leave, sir, to ask, is not your name Nash?' 'My name is Nash.' 'Sir, I dare not judge of you by common report. I think it is not enough to judge by.' Here he paused awhile, and having recovered himself said, 'I desire to know what this people comes here for?' On which one replied, 'Sir, leave him to me; let an old woman answer him. You, Mr. Nash, take care of your body; we take care of our souls; and for the food of our souls, we come here'. He replied not a word, but walked away."

There is something in the story that appeals to me. It bears upon itself the impress of truth, as all John Wesley's entries in his *Journal* do. There is no doubt that the great Dissenting casuist got the better of our poor Beau in dialectics. Dick Nash was no fit opponent to the Rev. J. Wesley, Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford, either in theology, or law, or general debate. He was repulsed at the first charge, and the "old woman" turned the repulse into a rout. Yet, I like the conclusion. "He replied not a word, but walked away." He felt he was fighting forces greater than he could command, and a spirit he could not quench. He did not rail or swear, "He said nqt a word but walked away". Perhaps he had some dim perception—as what Welshman could not?—of the meaning of the portent of John Wesley. He may have been conscious of the antagonism of two elemental forces in the human world. On the one side, there was the old Paganism, exemplified in the eighteenth century by Beau Nash, with its delight in the pursuit of pleasure,—which in the previous century made

Huw Morus exclaim, when the Cromwellians were changing all things :

> Pan oeddwn i'n fachgen,
> Mi welais fyd llawen,
> Cyn codi o'r genfigen flin filen yn fawr,
> I ladd yr hên Lywydd,
> A dilyn ffydd newydd
> Ac Arglwydd aflonydd yn flaenawr.

On the other, was that spirit of Puritanism, which was to transform and transfigure the whole conception of social life in England, and our poor Beau, when suddenly confronted with the blunt exposition of the "old woman", being a Welshman, could not have failed to have some glimmering perception of the truth. At all events let it be accounted unto him for grace that, "He replied not a word, but walked away".

For this is the paradox of Beau Nash. He lived by gaming, but he helped to save many a gamester from ruin. A society parasite, he was capable of acts of supreme generosity. He was often superbly insolent,—Pope once described him as an "impudent dog"—but there never was a kinder heart. He was in many ways a snob, yet when the Duchess of Marlborough taunted him with never mentioning his father, he replied with spirit and fine feeling, "Madam, I seldom mention my father in company, not because I have any reason to be ashamed of him, but because he has some reason to be ashamed of me". Two stories—how he saved a Duke, and how he befriended a generous souled beauty, named Miss Braddock, the sister of that ill-fated General Braddock, who fell at Ticonderoga—have been enshrined and intertwined in George Meredith's fascinating story of Beau Beamish, yclept "A Tale of Chloe". Another true story of our Beau—how he proposed to a lady, and was told that she loved

another, how he offered her the dowry which her indignant father refused in his anger, and how the father relented and consented to the marriage—was used by Vanbrugh in the last Act of one of his plays. There is one well attested story which I must tell. A certain young Earl came to Bath intent on amusement. He knew nothing of gaming, and so Beau Nash became his instructor. They began to play for small stakes; the Beau won and won. The young Earl lost his temper, and challenged his opponent to play for higher stakes. Nash refused; the young fool became insolent and insulting. Time after time the stakes were increased; time after time the Beau won. At last the Earl rose from the table, a ruined man. All his paternal acres had passed to the old gamester who ruled over Bath. "My Lord", said Nash, "I will not deprive you of your inheritance. Go back to your home, and promise me to play no more". The Earl was astonished and overwhelmed, and asked what return he could make. "Give me £5,000", said the Beau, "if ever I ask it of you". The Earl consented, and forthwith departed, but as long as he lived the Beau never exacted the penalty. Long after the Earl's death, when the Beau was old and poor, he sent a claim to the Earl's successor for the £5,000. The claim was met and the £5,000 was paid.

It was little wonder, after all, that a man of this character became the Monarch of Bath. His full length statue was put up by the Corporation between the busts of Newton and Pope. The great Lord Chesterfield satirised it as follows:—

The statue placed the busts between
Adds to the satire strength,
Wisdom and wit are little seen,
But Folly at full length.

But the Corporation of Bath were no whit abashed. They

revered the Creator of the fame and prosperity of their city, and they allowed nothing to dim their gratitude.

When in his old age in 1745—when he was 71—a law was passed to forbid gaming in public places, and the poor old Beau was deprived of the main source of his income, the Corporation bestowed on him a pension of £10 a month. He was ever a bountiful and compassionate man. No one in distress ever approached him in vain. He it was that was mainly instrumental in establishing the Hospital at Bath for poor patients. The stories of his kind heartedness are innumerable. He cared nothing for money. He spent it lavishly as he made it easily. When he died in 1761, at the venerable age of 87, £50 was voted by the Corporation for a public funeral. Never was such a spectacle seen before in Bath. The Capital of Fashion went into mourning. Every house was shut, every blind was drawn. The funeral cortege, as described in the *Gentleman's Magazine* was stately and impressive. First came the charity boys and girls—the Beau's own protégés—singing a hymn, then came the City Band, and then the Beau's own Band from the Assembly Rooms, playing a dirge. Then three clergymen walked in solemn procession, in full canonicals, before the coffin which was bedecked with sable plumes. The pall was supported by the six senior aldermen of the City. Then followed the Beau's own chosen retinue—the masters of the Assembly Rooms; after them the beadles of the Hospital. The picture is striking and pathetic; but I like best of all the little touch which was added by Goldsmith, the supreme artist in homely emotion, "Last of all", wrote he, "the poor patients themselves, the lame, the emaciated, and the feeble followed their old benefactor to his grave, shedding unfeigned tears, and lamenting themselves in him".

Requiescat in pace.

Balad: Y Brenin a'r Cymry.

GAN W. LLEWELYN WILLIAMS (*Llwydfryn*), A.S.

UNDE et Anglorum rege Henrico secundo in australem Walliam apud Pencadeyr, quod capud Cathedrae sonat, nostris diebus (A.D. 1163) in hanc gentem expeditionem agente, consultus ab eo senior quidam populi ejusdem qui contra alios tamen vitio gentis eidem adhaeserat, super exercitu regis, populoque rebelli si resistere posset, quid ei declararet opinionem respondit: "Gravari quidem, plurimaque ex parte destrui et debilitari vestris, rex, aliorumque viribus, nunc et olim et pluries, meritorum exegentia, gens ista valebit. Ad plenum autem, propter hominis iram, nisi et ira Dei concurrerit, non delebitur. Nec alia, ut arbitror, gens quam haec Kambrica, aliave lingua, in die districti examinis coram Judice Supremo, quicquid de ampliore contingat, pro hoc terrarum angulo respondebit.

Giraldus Cambrensis: *Desc. Cambriae*: Lit. ii, cap. x.

Felly yn ein dyddiau ni (A.D. 1163) pan y bu i'r Brenin Harri'r Eilfed ymosod ar y Deheubarth, efe a ofynnodd ym Mhencader i hen wr o Gymro, yr hwn oedd yn glynu wrtho, beth oedd ei farn am ei fyddin, ac am allu'r Cymry i wrthsefyll ei rym, ac ebe'r henwr: "O Frenin, ti elli di ac ereill lethu, ac mewn rhan wanychu a difetha llawer ar y genedl hon, fel y digwyddodd lawer gwaith o'r blaen, a mynych hi a lwydda drwy rinwedd ei hynni, ond fyth ni ddileir hi'n llwyr drwy lidiowgrwydd dyn, oddieithr iddi hefyd ennyn digofaint Duw. Ac yn nydd mawr y Farn, pan y geilw Duw ni oll i gyfrif, rwyf yn meddwl, doed a ddelo, mai Cymry fydd pia'r wlad, ac mai yn Gymraeg yr atebant dros y cwr hwn o'r ddaear.

i.

"Barbariaid yw'r Cymry!" yn groch llefai Harri:
Nid oes iddynt, druain, warineb na moes!
Ar hyn fe rof derfyn, fy nghyfraith gânt dderbyn,
Y Norddman gânt ddilyn, pen brigyn yr oes;

Pam glynant yn ffyddlon i grefydd a defion
A iaith sydd yn estron i gynnydd y byd?
Paham nad ynt foddlon ar iaith eu cym'dogion?
Paham ar iaith anwar y rhoddant eu bryd?

ii.

"Mae gennyf fi fyddin", bygythiai y Brenin,
O Norddmyn a Fflemyn na threchwyd erioed;
Myfi yw ei llywydd; ac o Fôr y Werydd
Hyd eithaf y gwledydd, fe seinir fy nghlod!
A chwi, wael Frythoniaid, llwyth tlawd o anwariaid,
Gwybyddwch mai ofer gwrthsefyll fy ngrym!
'Mostyngwch i'm harfau, a phlygwch i'm deddfau,
Cewch freiniau fy neiliaid yn rhad ac am ddim"!

iii.

"Ein Duw" ebe'r Cymry "a roes ein gwlad ini,—
Ei chadw ai charu rhaid ini ei phlant:
Os cribog ein bryniau, a gwael ein buddiannau,
Anwylwn o'n c'lonnau bob mynydd a phant.
Ti elli, o D'wysog, drwy rym dy wyr arfog,
Orthrymu'n flinderog ein cenedl ni,
Ond gwybydd na elli ein hysbryd orchfygu,
Na'n cariad at Gymru tra llosgo'r haul fry!

iv.

"Ac am ein hiaith dirion, er gwaetha'th fygythion,
Yn ddwfn yn ein calon caiff loches a nyth:
Tra ser y ffurfafen, tra llen, cân ac awen,
Coleddwn yn llawen ei cheinion hi byth.
Ei hacen hyfrydol ar wefus mam siriol,
A glywsom yn swynol wrth siglo'n y crud:
A drown yn anffyddlon, ar arch rhyw deyrn estron,
I'n mamiaith wen wiwlon a'n magodd ni cyd?

v.

"Yn hon bu ein beirddion yn moli ein dewrion
A'n glew dywysogion, gwroniaid ein bro:
Os hon a anghofiwn, ein hanes a gollwn,
Mor ddiwerth a fyddwn ag adar y tô!
Os hyn yw gwareiddiad, gwell cyflwr barbariad
Sy'n meithrin ei gariad at bethau a fu!
A gasglodd ein tadau fwynheir gennym ninnau,
A drosir yn ddiau i'n plant bychain ni!

vi.

"Ein hiaith os enciliodd o blasau brenhinoedd,
O wychder eu llysoedd os ciliodd hi draw,—
Os gwledig ei hagwedd, mae iddi ei gorsedd
Yng nghalon ei deiliaid, y sydd ac a ddaw!
Eheda i'r entrych i breswyl gwyn gorwych,
A neges fwy drudfawr na deiseb i ti,—
Can's hi sy'n cyfryngu rhwng tylwyth y Cymry
A'r Iesu a hoeliwyd ar bren erom ni!

vii.

"O lychyn ymffrostgar! nid wyt ond o'r ddaear,
Yn ebrwydd i'r ddaear disgynni yn ôl!
Nid yw dy ddoethineb ond ffug o warineb,
Doethineb nid yw,—ond clindarddach y ffol!
Duw roes yn ein genau briodiaith ein tadau,
A thrwy'r cenedlaethau hi erys yn bur:
A phan ddaw Dydd Cyfrif, 'nol oesau aneirif,
Yn honno yr etyb trigolion ein tir!"

The King and the Welsh:

(A Translation of the foregoing.)

By SIR FRANCIS EDWARDS, Bart., M.P.

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i.

Those heathen, the Cymry, loud spake the King Henry,
Are wretches ill-mannered and gentleness scorn:
Amend this I vow to, my law they shall bow to,
The Norman shall rule them to leadership born.
Why do they thus fight for their faith and their right,
Their tongue that doth slight the world's progress forsooth?
Why is our speech hated by these with us mated,
Why love they so fondly a language uncouth?

ii.

My army doth muster, the Monarch did bluster,
Both Norman and Fleming who know not defeat:
Their leader undaunted, my praises are chaunted
O'er ocean to realms of remotest retreat.
Ye Celts of low station, poor barbarous nation,
Know that it avails not my might to withstand:
Submit to my legions, to my laws give obedience,
As subjects your rights you shall freely command.

iii.

The land to us given, said the Welshmen, by heaven
We must, as her children, both cherish and prize:
Our hills may seem frowning, our wealth not worth owning,
But our mountains and valleys are dear to our eyes.

By the might of thy forces, O Prince, and resources
  Our nation thou canst both oppress and o'er-run ;
But know that thy power our pride cannot lower,
  Nor the love of our country while shineth the sun.

iv.

Our language belovéd, by threats all unmovéd,
  A refuge and nest in our bosoms shall share :
While the stars gleam above and the muses we love,
  Its charm we shall cherish with joyfulness e'er.
Its accents enthralling from mother lips falling
  When rocked in our cradles we gladly did hear :
Shall our tongue be abhorred at a foreign king's word,
  The sweet mother-tongue for such ages our cheer ?

v.

Our bards in this tongue of our stalwarts have sung,
  And princes of valour, our heroes supreme :
If we fail this to cherish, our story will perish,
  As worthless as sparrows ourselves we shall deem.
If culture this be then, far better the heathen,
  Who foster affection for things that are past :
What our fathers have wrought for, by us shall be fought for,
  And faithfully left to our children at last.

vi.

Our tongue though 'tis banished from halls, and has vanished
  From the palaces splendid of kings far away :
Though rustic her dress is, a throne she possesses
  In the hearts of her subjects for ever and aye.

To heaven she's ascended, to halls bright and splendid,
  With a prayer of more price than petitions to thee:
For she intercedeth for Welshmen, and pleadeth
  With Jesus who for our sakes died on the tree.

vii.

Oh dust and vainglory, the earth 'twas that bore thee,
  And soon to the earth thou'lt descend when death rules:
Thy wisdom is naught but confusion of thought—
  Thy wisdom is only the cackling of fools.
God the Cymry inspires with the speech of their sires,
  And through generations unsullied 'twill stand:
And when Time dies away, on the Last Judgment day
  In its accents will answer the folk of our land.



Histed. *To face p. 175.*

SIR WILLIAM H. PREECE, K.C.B., F.R.S.,

A Vice-President of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion.

Born 15 February, 1834; died 6 November, 1913.

The Application of Electricity to Practical Uses: A Welshman's Contribution.

[The late SIR WILLIAM H. PREECE, K.C.B., F.R.S.]

By LLEWELYN PREECE, *Mem. Inst. C.E.*

William Henry Preece was born at Carnarvon on February 15th, 1834. His parents were of Welsh descent, the father being the son of a schoolmaster at Cowbridge, Glamorgan, whilst the mother was of a Carnarvon family named Hughes. Richard Matthias Preece, who had been several times Mayor of the Town of Carnarvon, left that town with his family in 1844 and came to London, so that his son obtained most of his education in the Metropolis. He entered King's College School in 1845 and completed his general education at the College. He in no way distinguished himself at school or college, nor showed any particular propensity for a profession. At the time he studied at King's College, it was proposed that he should join the Army. Fortunately, however, for many reasons, his father had serious financial losses at the beginning of 1852, and it became apparent that his eldest son, William, must take up work which would give him an immediate income.

R. M. Preece had made the acquaintance of Edwin and Latimer Clerk in earlier days when they were engaged in constructing the Menai Bridge. These two engineers were in 1852 both employed by the Electric Telegraph Company, one as chief engineer and the other as chief

assistant engineer, and the latter had lately become a son-in-law of R. M. Preece. Two other officers of this Company, Frederick and Frank Webb, were then, or were shortly to become also sons-in-law, so that when R. M. Preece looked about to find work for his son, William, it was only natural that the thoughts of both should turn to the Electric Telegraph Company. The young man had attended several of the lectures of the great Faraday at the Royal Institution and had thus imbibed some of the rudiments of the study of electricity. The result was that on May 14th, 1853, W. H. Preece obtained an appointment as assistant engineer in this Company.

Very soon after he joined. Preece had the good fortune to be called in to assist Latimer Clerk in some special experiments carried out for the Astronomer Royal, Sir George Airey, which brought him into touch with that scientist, and these were followed by still more important experiments, in which Preece assisted Faraday and Latimer Clerk, on the flow of electric currents in underground wires.

All the rest of his life Preece looked back with pride to this occasion when he acted as Faraday's assistant, and revered him as his professional father.

During his first year of work Preece took out his first patent, which was for a means of working "duplex", that is of transmitting two electric messages in opposite directions simultaneously over one wire. This idea had originated in 1852 on the Continent, but it was not until some twenty years later that the method of working became practical. Preece's, like many others, failed in practice. For three years Preece held this staff appointment, and evidently spent his time obtaining a thorough grasp of electric telegraphy, both over land lines and through submarine cables. The only

record of his work, at this time, is contained in some excellent technical articles written by him for a publication of the E.T.C. called *Our Magazine*, in which curiously enough his are the only articles of technical value, all the others being literary.

From these articles alone one obtains a very clear idea of telegraph engineering in the "fifties", the trouble engineers had to contend with, and the means they employed in overcoming them. These articles are truly historical.

On February 9th, 1856, when just 22 years of age, Preece was appointed Superintendent of the Southern Division, having under his charge all land lines and telegraph offices from Kent to Cornwall and S. Wales. In 1858 he was appointed, in addition, Engineer to the Channel Islands Cable Company, a subsidiary company of the E.T.C., and in 1860, when the London and South Western Railway formed their own telegraph department, he was permitted to hold a third appointment as Telegraph Superintendent to this Railway Company. His headquarters were, during these years, at Southampton.

For some time his administrative duties kept Preece very fully employed. In 1860, however, he found time to write his first paper for the Institution of Civil Engineers, which was on "Submarine Cables in Shallow Waters". The basis of this paper was his experience with the Channel Islands Cable. This paper earned for him the Telford Gold Medal, presented by the Institution, and placed him in the front rank of submarine cable engineers.

A somewhat instructive incident took place during the discussion on this paper. Preece in the course of his remarks mentioned that in his opinion it would, in the future, be necessary to study the ocean bottoms as carefully and as closely as was already done with the land surfaces. This suggestion gave rise to jeers on the part

of some of his audience, and one old man at the Council table got up and in angry tones told Preece that he was talking nonsense, that such an idea was absolutely absurd! Nevertheless Preece has been proved right.

Shortly afterwards Preece gave evidence before a special joint committee, appointed by the Board of Trade and the Cable Companies, sitting to consider the many causes of submarine cable failures, and this committee stated in its recommendation that the bottom of the oceans should be most carefully surveyed before cables were laid.

In 1862, Preece, in conjunction with a Lieutenant Gilmore, took out a patent for an indicator to be used on board ship between the bridge and the wheelhouse for steering purposes. This was taken up by the Admiralty and amongst the first ships fitted was the Royal Yacht which brought the young Princess Alexandra to this country. As Preece travelled on the ship for this voyage he had the honour to be presented on this auspicious occasion.

Soon after Preece took up the appointment of telegraph superintendent to the L. & S. W. Railway, he had to turn his attention to an electric block signalling for use on that railway, it being desired to equip a section of the line at Exeter with such. Up to this time, though Cooke, who with Wheatstone introduced the electric telegraph in 1837, had in very early days pointed out the immense importance of the electric telegraph to train control on railways, the railway companies had been very slow indeed to take advantage of it, and, practically speaking, only the long tunnels in the country were, at this time, properly guarded. Preece set out then to invent a system which would not only render block working safe, but would be of such a simple character that it could be handled and understood by any signalman. For this purpose he made his switches mini-

ature signal levers, and his indicators miniature signals. The men had only to pull over the lever and watch the the signal arm rise or fall. This system worked well, and was in use for some years.

As his new system was successful, he promptly prepared a second paper for the Institution of Civil Engineers on "Railway Telegraphs" which was read at the beginning of 1863. The discussion lasted over several evenings, and the Author received from the Institution the Telford premium.

Preece soon afterwards introduced an electric indicator to show to the signalman the position of signal arms—whether "on" or "off", and a lamp indicator which indicated whether the lamp was burning properly.

W. E. Langdon, in his book on "*Electricity applied to Railway Working*", stated that "to Mr. W. H. Preece is due the credit of having done perhaps more to popularize block signalling than any other Engineer".

Preece's next patent was for train intercommunication, that is, a system to enable passengers to ring a bell in the guard's van or on the locomotive. This was in 1864. Preece had married this year, and spent his honeymoon in Paris. Whilst there he made the acquaintance of the electric trembler bell—a French invention—and found that several hotels and houses were fitted up with this apparatus. It was this type of bell he used for his inter-communication system, placing a special type of contact maker in each compartment, covered by a thin glass plate, and an indicator outside to show from which compartment the bell had been rung.

This system was made the subject of a third paper at the Institution of Civil Engineers in 1866, for which Preece received the Council's premium.

Also by articles, pamphlets, etc., Preece introduced

the idea of using electric bells for domestic purposes into this country, and as he could get no firm to undertake the installation, he, for a time, did this himself, the first house to be fitted being that of the late Sir James Truscott, late Lord Mayor of London. This took place in 1865.

During these years Preece was earning a great reputation as a lecturer and was in constant demand, not only at Southampton, his headquarters, but at many towns in his district. He often spoke of an amusing, though trying, *contretemps* which took place at one of his Southampton lectures about this time. The lecture was on "The Electric Telegraph" and he had arranged for the Head Office in London to connect a Southampton line to a Paris line, and several messages passed to and fro, apparently between Southampton and Paris. Unfortunately one man in the audience requested Preece to ask Paris the time there. A reply came, but unfortunately it was forty minutes wrong. The man got up, denounced Preece as an impostor, and electric telegraphy as a swindle, then walked out shaking the dust off his shoes. Preece was terribly dismayed, and on making enquiries he found that the Paris wire was interrupted and the operator at London, not wishing to disappoint Preece and his audience, had personified Paris. When he was asked the time he knew that there was a difference of twenty minutes between London and Paris, but unfortunately put it on instead of taking it off!

In 1869, began perhaps the greatest undertaking Preece ever had. For a few years there had been considerable agitation and volumes of talk regarding the desirability of the Government buying up all the electric telegraph companies. The Bill sanctioning this was passed in 1869, and Preece was set to work to re-organise the whole of

his large division for Government requirements. It meant a considerable increase in the number of land lines, and the equipment of a telegraph office in the post offices of every town under his superintendence. This work took two years and absorbed most of Preece's energies during that time, though he succeeded in producing two excellent reports for the Secretary of the G.P.O. on the education of operators, and on methods of the daily testing of electric lines.

At the transfer, Preece was appointed superintending engineer of his old division, the Southern, and until 1874 his headquarters remained at Southampton. This division was subdivided into four sections, of which three of the superintendents in charge were the afterwards well-known telegraph engineers, Sir John Gavey, C.B., the late Sir James Sivewright, K.C.M.G., and the late Mr. W. E. Langdon. He had no sooner got this division into working order than his enthusiasm was rekindled by the advent of Mr. J. B. Stearns of America, and his successful duplex system, a method of telegraphy, to which Preece, as a budding engineer had turned his attention twenty years before. Stearns' system was gradually applied everywhere, and is still universally employed. Preece was not only instrumental in assisting in the application of this method to landlines, but also in applying it to submarine cables.

In 1872, Preece had the honour of delivering a lecture on Electric Telegraphy at the newly-opened Albert Hall before the then Prince of Wales (afterwards King Edward), and the Duke of Edinburgh, on which occasion the Hall was connected with Persia and India, and real messages passed between these countries and the Hall. At the end of 1871, the Society of Telegraph Engineers was founded (now the Institution of Electrical Engineers) of

which Preece was one of the founders, and at the end of 1872 he was elected on the Council and remained an honoured member at the Council table until the end of his life.

In 1874 Preece had the terrible misfortune to lose his wife, and shortly afterwards left Southampton and made London his headquarters. Three years later, in May 1877, Preece made his first trip to America, memorable for the fact that on his return he brought with him the first practical telephone of Professor Graham Bell. He exhibited two of these instruments at the British Association meeting at Plymouth in August that year, on which occasion Graham Bell himself appeared.

For the next few years Preece put in a great amount of work on the advancement of telephony. He was the first Engineer to insist on the use of metallic circuits for telephones in place of the earth return which was the practice in telegraphy. He was very early in the field in the use of copper wire in place of iron wire for telephony, and afterwards for telegraphy also, and he was the man to whom David Hughes first demonstrated his great invention, the microphone, the apparatus to which the spread of telephony is mainly due. Another result of his visit to the States was the introduction into England of Edison's phonograph. Edison sent to Preece one of his earliest apparatus at the beginning of 1878.

During this year Culley, the Engineer-in-Chief of the Post Office, retired. Edward Graves was appointed his successor, and Preece was appointed Electrician to the Post Office.

In 1878 Preece first turned his attention to Electric Lighting. The great possibility of Arc Lighting for streets and large buildings was at that time being realised, and Preece was amongst the first to recognise this. In

May, 1879, he again lectured in the Albert Hall before the same august personages, and this time on Electric Lighting. In 1880, W. H. Preece was elected President of the Society of Telegraph Engineers, and this year saw the advent of the incandescent lamp, invented independently by J. W. Swan and by Edison.

The decade from 1880 to 1890 was certainly the busiest time in Preece's life. He was still engaged in the improvement of high speed telegraphy on the lines instituted by Charles Wheatstone. Wheatstone's instrument in 1870 was able to transmit messages at the rate of 40 to 60 words per minute, but by 1887, thanks mainly to the energetic endeavours of Preece, this speed was increased to a maximum of 600 words per minute. The work Preece did also in the advancement of the telephone was sufficient to satisfy any ordinary man as a good life work. But even this did not content Preece. He not only worked just as hard at the advancement of Electric Lighting, but also in 1884 commenced the work for which he was best known by the public, namely, Wireless Telegraphy. He was also largely concerned in the innumerable Exhibitions for which this decade was noted.

He was elected Fellow of the Royal Society in 1881.

It is quite impossible to write a short lucid account of all the work done by W. H. Preece during this decade. It might be mentioned that he read no less than 170 papers alone, before the various societies and institutions in this country, without mentioning other lectures and addresses. It will probably be better to limit oneself to an account of his wireless experiments, or as it was then called, "signalling across space without wires."

The first indication of the possibility of bridging space without a metallic conductor arose in Gray's Inn Road, in London, where there were some telegraph wires running

underground and some telephone circuits overhead. It was reported to Preece in 1884 that the Morse signals passing through the telegraph wires were audible in telephones attached to the telephone wires, 80 ft. above the telegraph line. He immediately instituted experiments to discover to what a distance such signals could be heard, and whether this phenomenon was due to induction or to leakage. Preece came to the conclusion that it was due to induction, though many scientists before and since strongly hold that it is really due to leakage. After some years of experimenting Preece found that he could bridge any reasonable distance, so long as the transmitting and receiving lines were parallel, and of more or less equal length, these lengths being somewhat more than that distance apart.

The first actual working system of this character installed was in the British Channel between Lavernoch Point, South Wales, and the island of Flatholm, and it was a most curious coincidence that the first official message to pass was one communicating to Preece the death of E. Graves, the Engineer-in-Chief of the Post Office, and Preece's immediate predecessor, for Preece therefrom became the Engineer-in-Chief. This was in 1892. In March, 1896, Signor Marconi, the young Italian, 22 years of age, called on Preece at the G.P.O. and explained to him his new wireless telegraph invention. Preece was greatly interested, and placed at Marconi's service the Post Office experimental staff. For the next twelve months or more Marconi and the Post Office engineers made many experiments in various parts of the country, and in June, 1897, Preece gave a lecture before the Royal Institution, in which he described Marconi's successes. Soon after this Marconi and the Post Office separated, and Preece was no longer concerned in Marconi's progress,

and though until the end of his life he continued to take the greatest interest in the advancement of wireless telegraphy, he was no longer practically engaged in that work.

Preece became President of the Institution of Civil Engineers in 1898. He retired from his position as Engineer-in-Chief to the Post Office in 1899, receiving the honour of Knighthood of the Order of the Bath, and he became the Consulting Engineer for the following five years. In 1899 he, with Major Cardew, late Electrical Adviser to the Board of Trade, and his two elder sons formed the firm of Preece and Cardew, Consulting Electrical Engineers. Preece's unrivalled knowledge of telegraphy, telephony, wireless telegraphy, electric lighting and power, was in constant demand. From 1884 Preece had acted as Consulting Engineer to many municipalities in connection with electric lighting plant. In 1903 Preece had his first serious illness, pneumonia. He recovered from this, but in 1908 had to undergo a severe operation, from which he never completely recovered. He went finally to his home near Carnarvon in May, 1912, after a trip to S. Africa, and gradually failing in strength he passed away peacefully on November 6th, 1913, within three months of his 80th birthday.

Some Recent Welsh Literature and the Limitations of Realism.

By T. HUWS DAVIES.

Secretary to the Welsh Church Commission.

The artist's calling is a high and an honourable one. There are many kinds of men who use that dangerous instrument, the pen, but of them all the artist is the only one who has, as it were, been put on his honour in its use. All the others have been hedged round for their own and the public safety with all manner of restrictions and penalties. Over many of them,—the reporters, the critics of affairs, and the controversialists, for instance—hangs always the awful shadow of the law of libel; in their case injustice, malice, any perversion of fact,—may at any moment be visited with the dire penalties of the law. Others,—the scientist and the historian,—whose profession it is to array facts and draw from them legitimate and well-justified conclusions, know from experience that any disloyalty to truth, any contempt of dispassionate scientific accuracy, means professional suicide. The first conviction is always followed by the imposition of the maximum penalty—the penalty of outlawry from their clan and kinsmen.

But the artist is in an entirely different position: he is immune from these disabling penalties, provided he be single-minded in the practice of his profession. A Shaw may (in peace times) pillory a British General, or a Galsworthy may depict all the ugliness of a colliery owner,

without fear, provided he makes it clear that his interest in the type is artistic aud not personal. The artist has the great privilege and the consequent great obligation of always being on his honour. He is only hampered by the inherent limitations of art. He is free to do what he wishes, but he must not degrade his calling or bring the name of his chosen goddess into disrepute.

It is particularly important, in view of recent developments in literary methods, to reassert and to emphasize this platitude at this moment. It seems as if, at last, we were reaching the noonday of realism in literature, and there are signs that some writers, posing as realists, are in danger of losing this sense of the honour of their profession, by ignoring the limitations which should be placed upon them by an adequate realisation of the dignity of art.

Realism, in the truest sense, is but an extension to the field of literary creation of the application of the eighteenth century revivalist's dictum, "the world is my parish". What George Russell (A.E.) said of the Irish bards is to some extent true of all the classicists and romanticists—they had "endeavoured to live in a palace of art, in chambers hung with embroidered cloths and made dim with pale lights and Druid twilights, and the melodies they sought for were half soundless". The realist, however, is in revolt against this limitation of the subject matter upon which he is to work, as well as against the consequent limitation in the method of treatment which it implies. "Nihil humanum a me alienum puto" is the cry of the realists. They would like, as Professor Gilbert Murrry said of some of them, "to make no difference between good and bad, but to welcome every experience that will lead to knowledge or even cause a thrill . . . . . Their faith is that anything truly felt

and expressed has a kind of absolute and indestructible value". This is the creed for instance, of the great Russian realists, Dostoievsky, Gorki, Tchekov, and others, the masters of the craft in our generation, who have justified themselves in their revolt by demonstrating that the artist, even when he flings himself into the midst of the ugliness of life, need not lose any of his divinity. They have cast from themselves all the old traditions and conventions of their craft; cloistered, precious, well-selected beauty is no concern of theirs; they often dwell in horrible detail on the degradation and the ugliness of human life; they have made the pettiness, the meanness and the dishonesty which they find so universal in human relations cry to heaven for sudden vengeance; they have covered their pages with terrible revelations of the depths into which men and women have fallen—but they have never committed the crime of suggesting that the subject was beneath them. They have never worked at their ugly task for their own amusement or for the amusement of their readers—they are driven by a vision in it all. The least thing that concerns that strange animal Man—always a *mixta persona*, some beast and some God—is of infinite import to them. When they roar their curses against the individual, or cast a bright light on his disease and his filth, they are really singing a great hymn of devotion to Man in the abstract; they are saying what Dostoievsky in "Crime and Punishment" made Raskolnikoff say to Sonia "I do not bow to to you personally, but to suffering humanity in your person".

The most abandoned realist of them all is Anton Tchekov, "the murderer of human hopes", and even he can always plead that he has never sacrificed his honour as an artist. A great Russian critic, Leon Shestov, said of him that the description which Tchekov gives of one

of his heroes applies to them all: "A man cannot reconcile himself to the accomplished fact; neither can he refuse so to reconcile himself; and there is no third course. Under such conditions *action* is impossible. He can only fall and weep and "beat his head against the floor". It is a pitiable position enough, but Tchekov's men even in that position are all *men*. It can be said of all the Russian realists that they have honestly observed the inherent conditions of their art,—it is characterized by an unbending devotion to strict truth; it is animated by a high purpose; it is throughout illuminated by a wonderful charity; it is the vehicle of devotion, and as such sacred and holy. Realism is only justified if it bears these marks.

This is true of the masters—from whose work we can derive some standards of measurement for those who follow them. What of the apprentices? The question is of peculiar interest to Celts and especially to Welshmen at the present moment, for the gale of realism has begun to blow over our lands too with very considerable force.

During the last generation or two "the Celtic Fringe" has shown signs of great literary vitality and activity, and it is interesting to note in passing that during this recent period the different Celtic groups have passed through very similar phases. Scotland at the end of the nineteenth century possessed its idyllic Kailyard school of novelists, but within a generation it had, probably in the way of a reaction, produced George Douglas, with his *House with the Green Shutters*—one of the most terribly realistic works in recent fiction.

A generation ago, Ireland was in the throes of a great literary renascence, whose main characteristic was a kind of sentimental eclecticism in prose, in poetry, and in drama. W. B. Yeats had imposed his dictatorial will on

all, but within a few years something in the nature of a revolution had occurred. Yeats was dethroned, and a conscious realist in the person of J. M. Synge had taken his place. In his drama particularly, but also in his prose and poetry, Synge attempted to get at the elemental forces in the lives of the people round him, and to depict them in their true reality with a fine sense of their terror and strength. He even turned to the common people for the vocabulary of his art. One remembers with what pride he asserted in his preface to the *Play Boy of the Western World* that there were but one or two words in the whole play which he had not heard among the country people of Ireland. His literary faith as set forth in that remarkable preface may perhaps be quoted :—

> "All art is a collaboration; and there is little doubt that, in the happy ages of literature, striking and beautiful phrases were as ready to the story-teller's or the playwright's hand as the rich cloaks and dresses of his time. It is probable that when the Elizabethan dramatist took his ink-horn and sat down to his work he used many phrases that he had just heard, as he sat at dinner, from his mother or his children. In Ireland those of us who know the people have the same privilege. When I was writing *The Shadow of the Glen* some years ago, I got more aid than any learning could have given me from a chink in the floor of the old Wicklow house where I was staying, that let me hear what was being said by the servant girls in the kitchen. This matter, I think, is of importance, for in countries where the imagination of the people, and the language they use, is rich and living, it is possible for a writer to be rich and copious in his words, and at the same time to give the reality, which is the root of all poetry, in a comprehensive and natural form."

The realist in matter and in form had arrived, and later Irish literature proves that he was not some "isolated accident" in the story.

Something of the same nature has happened in Wales. During the last fifteen or twenty years, the

literary activities of the country have undergone a complete transformation,—although the full manifestation of the change has been arrested to some extent by the War. It is immaterial what particular form of literary creation we choose to select, the change is obvious. If we take Welsh poetry, and compare the work of the middle of the nineteenth century with that of the beginning of the twentieth, we find that the whole world of the poet has changed. The old poetry was the poetry of the compensations of life, and in it life's bitterness and cruelty were at their strongest not much more than a distant echo. The new poetry, whatever may be its faults and its weaknesses, is concerned with the law and life of the visible world, and its songs quiver with suffering and sorrow. When the older poet sang of love, he sang of an idyllic, balanced emotion, with but little of the elemental force of nature in it, but the new poet tells a stranger story—he sings of the terrors of love, of the tempest in the blood, of the laying waste of lives and the deliberate choice of hell for heaven. Ceiriog was one of the master love-singers of Wales, but he never sang of hungry passion with its mantle in tatters from its own violence. According to the conventions of his period, it was too rude and cataclysmic a theme for poetry. When the older poets sang of the life of the Welsh peasantry, they generally pictured it as poor and simple, but contented, drawing its comforts from the things of another world. The peasant had a warm hearth, a true love, a good and a forgiving God. The new poet finds the hearth cold and comfortless; the life racked by suffering and disease, the love often mean and insecure, the God frequently deaf, the whole existence one long process of victimisation and injustice, and he sings the song of protest and revolt. He has left the "dewy and silent places among hazel trees by still waters", and is found among

the crowds covered with the grime and clay of everyday life. He has become a realist.

We have written first of the appearance of realism in Welsh poetry because the pure literature of Wales is mainly poetic,—other forms have been by no means abundant in their growth. Wales has not been particularly fruitful in fiction, and indeed the novel and the short story are relatively quite modern products. Our country has produced up to the present one great novelist—Daniel Owen, a master in the delineation of character, an irrepressible humourist, often a profound and discerning critic, intimately acquainted with the life of the people, because he was one of them and lived their life, knowing their weakness and their strength, and moved in all he did by an overwhelming love of them. But Daniel Owen was utterly unaffected by any realism. It is true that he described many of the painful sides of Welsh life of which the pompous, overbearing squire, the mean and cringing parasite on the great, the hypocritical professor of religion, the vain empty-headed intellectual fraud are symbols, but he never chose any of these weaknesses as a main motive. His atmosphere is throughout idyllic; he belongs both by inclination and by definite volition to the "Kailyard" novelists. In the main, Welsh life *was* to him idyllic. It was never part of his task to show the overpowering catastrophic forces at work in the life of every village and country-side, and the terrible devastation so often produced by them, though so often concealed from the eye of most observers. The bitter and eternal conflict between hell and heaven for the souls of men and women, with its ever changing fortunes and its awful uncertainty, finds little place in his novels. He lived "au dessus de la mêlée;" his air was free of the growls and groans of earth in passion and labour, and

his hands and garments were clean of the soil and blood of battle.

No other novelist of equal gifts arose after him, either to inherit his idyllic tradition or create a new one, and for the time being Welsh fiction was non-existent. During recent years, however, an allied form seemed on the point of achieving considerable popularity in the vernacular literature,—we refer to the short story. Most of the productions in that particular literary form (as was to be expected) were directly under the influence of the Daniel Owen tradition—such, for instance, as the Rev. Dewi Williams' little masterpieces, of which a small collection has been published by the author under the title of *Clawdd Terfyn*. There were others, however, touched with a strange and alien manner more akin to the work of the great European realists, to the Russians, to Guy de Maupassant, to Thomas Hardy, than to anything in Welsh literature. One recollects two instances of remarkable power which appeared in the issues of the *Beirniad* for June 1911 and the Autumn of 1913 respectively, entitled "Aml Gnoc" and "De Mortuis", both from the pen of Mr. W. J. Gruffydd. In the former, he described the mysterious working of physical pain, mental torture, and a forced intimacy with Death, that King of Terrors against whom nothing can prevail, on the soul of a hardened Pharisee, who had stifled all the emotions of his nature. In the other, he shows the terrible possibilities of coarse tragedy in an ordinary love affair in an ordinary Welsh village, and both stories are in the true realist style. The tendency was still more marked in that small crop of dramas which were published in the three or four years immediately before the war, of which "Beddau'r Proffwydi", and "Ble ma Fe" are good examples, and it is still perceptible in the literature of the war period, as

can be seen in a delightful little sketch by Mr. Llewelyn Williams in the *Beirniad* for this year—which is a perfect example of how fancy and realism can be judiciously combined.

Realism, however, is as yet not very much more than a tendency in pure Welsh literature—it has not become its main method. All our poets and writers still retain some measure either of the classicism which was its main characteristic in the early part of the nineteenth century, or of romanticism—its later inspiration. They still worship the old legends and traditions, they still love the glory of high colours and the grace of rhythmic cadences; nature with its magic beauties still haunts them everywhere; even when the force of circumstances and conviction drives them to use the new instrument of realism, they use it with great reserve and economy, as men knowing its dangers and fearing them, and, indeed, this is their justification. Extravagance in realism is as indefensible as extravagance in the use of the surgeon's knife. The use of the realistic method by the artist is only justified when he is able to make it clear that, in spite of the proximity of the actual, the vision of the ideal has not been obscured for him. When he describes ugliness, he must convince his world that he loves beauty and is able to comprehend it. And it is no excess to say that such realists as there are in Welsh literature have so far been able to do this. Recently, however, we have witnessed an amazing development in English literature whose subject matter is Wales and its life. Two remarkable collections of short stories or sketches from the pen of a Welshman have been issued in English, purporting—as the title of the first volume (*My People*), and the general advertisements of both volumes, indicate—to be realistic studies of the life of the peasantry of West Wales, and they have

been hailed by reviewers and readers both as works of exceptional genius and power, securing for the author a place among the great literary artists of our day, and also as social documents of great value and interest.

Such a first judgment of these studies is not greatly to be wondered at, for we are all interested in accounts of peoples whose lives, manners, and customs are strange and abnormal. There is always a market for books about people who are not "like us", whether they inhabit the slums of our great cities, the wildnesses of the lands of the Celtic fringe, the Russian prisons and dram-shops, or the Indian hills. *The Play-Boy of the Western World, Creatures that once were Men, Plain Tales from the Hills, No. 5 John Street, Limehouse Nights*—are instances of books which have appealed to many people, not so much because of their intrinsic literary worth, but because they have given them the thrill of realizing that their world is still peopled by strange creatures unlike themselves. It is a satisfying, as well as an exciting experience to realize that close to our respectable and well-organized habitations there are wild and primitive beings living a fierce life of their own. The nearer these strange peoples dwell and the more barbaric their existence, the better subjects will they make for the kind of literature that appeals to this class of reader. Up to the present no one seemed to have realized that Wales was a ground which might with ingenuity be made to offer considerable possibilites in this direction. In the past Wales has not produced any real literature of its own life in English—chiefly because it was intent on producing what it could in its own language. It is true that some attempts have been made to reproduce the life of the country in English fiction—*Rhys Lewis* was translated, Theodore Watts Dunton wrote *Aylwin*, Ernest Rhŷs, Owen Rhoscomyl,

Miss Gwendolen Pryce, Miss Bowen Rowlands, John Thomas, Alfred Thomas, Miss Dillwyn, John Finnemore, and others, varying greatly among themselves in power and achievement, wrote English novels and stories dealing with Wales, Welsh history and Welsh life, but not one of them produced any work of first rate power and distinctiveness. In the days before the harsh and raucous voice of the realist was heard in the land, Wales produced no one who told for alien ears the story of the sweetnesses, of the heroisms and the charities of its life, so as to captivate and charm the listeners, who were always ready to be fascinated. The first story-teller to be hailed by his public as something more than an amateur at his craft brought with him tales of sordidness and filth—and he found the listeners waiting. This, in itself, makes any real criticism of such work as *My People* and *Capel Sion* highly difficult in so far as they claim to be social documents, as we have no other records of the life understandable by people of another tongue to which to make our appeal. When a critic disputes, as he has a perfect right to do, the truth of these books as true representations of life, he must do it from the books themselves and from universally accepted facts and principles, but not from other related sources, as these, as far as the English reading public is concerned, do not exist.

The task, however, is not impossible in spite of all the disabilities. It will, we believe, be universally conceded that the realist fails both as an artist and as a social recorder if he finds nothing in human life but ugliness and depravity. If he sees nothing but these evil and ungainly things he stands condemned by the consensus of human experiences on one of two grounds. It may be that he lacks spiritual sight, for no man lives on earth who, not being blind,

does not know that his fellow men have all some good in their hearts, are possessed of some longing for holiness, some love of beauty (of which they are often almost afraid to whisper to their companions), some marvellous possibilities of heroism and sacrifice.

He who sees at all must see these things—but he who lacks sight is by the very absence of that sense, ruled out from the communion of artists and truthtellers. All the senses—even an abnormally developed sense of smell which is often an endowment of the blind—can never make up for the gift of sight. It may be, however, that our theoretical realist is not deficient in any particular sense, but that in his exclusive dwelling on the "deformities of human existence" he is for some purpose of his own, from hatred or for propaganda or profit for instance, consciously and intentionally rejecting life's balance and grace, but even then he again stands condemned as an artist and social witness. As an artist he is guilty of the very misdemeanour in art against which he is supposed to be in revolt—that of rejecting a part of life as being not worthy of treatment, of deliberately making an arbitrary difference between good and evil; while as a social witness he is guilty of the meanest of the perjuries—the suppression of truth which would favour the condemned.

This general charge is our first count against the later manifestations of realism in the literature of the life of the Welsh peasantry; they omit all but its ugliness. The author is either blind by nature to all the other features of that life, or he has deprived himself of his sight, which is worse.

In the two volumes (*My People* and *Capel Sion*, by Caradoc Evans) with which for the moment we are primarily concerned there are in all some thirty short stories or sketches, and it is not too much to say that not

in one of them can there be found any real record of the universal softening and cleansing influences of human life, even among the lowest barbarians.

There exists no community of men and women on the face of the earth which does not know something of these forces, of the ennobling influence of little children with their innocence and simple dependence, of the arresting of personal selfishness by that strange devotion of man to man called friendship, of the power of the love of man for woman in idealising the things of the earthly body and the common affairs of life, of the capacity for sacrifice in the parent and for loyalty in the child, of the mysterious longing for communion with the Unknown, which (even among savages) always finds expression in words of dignity and beauty.

But in these sketches we have nothing but a record of an inhabited territory where apparently there is more concentrated devilry to the square mile than the world has ever known before, and where none of these mysterious but universally distributed forces are ever in play.

It would be difficult without a definite mathematical effort to say how many births the stories would lead one to expect, but there are no children anywhere in these *Stories of the Peasantry of West Wales*, and, as far as they are concerned, it would not be difficult to believe that these peasants are in the habit of putting all but the unhealthiest of them to death at birth. Their mischief, their laughter, their simple joys and sorrows never move any heart or bring anxiety or hope into any home within the covers of these two volumes.

One will seek in vain for any friendship here—there are protestations of it in abundance but always with some selfish end in view, and the ruling passion of the tribe is for an opportunity to play again the drama of Cain and

Abel. There is no love here, not even healthy desire. Apart from one story, "Greater than Love", which records a crime peculiarly rare in Wales, as cold judicial statistics would prove, it would be difficult to find any instance in the books of two people who might be expected to mate decently.

There is no love of clan or kindred which does not find expression in meanness and cruelty, and no longing for God and his works except among one or two madmen. A mere citation of these omissions entitles us to say that the creations of this writer are in defiance of the whole of human knowledge and experience, including that of the author if he be normal. How different it all is from the work of the master realists, some of whose names we have given. One is tempted to compare it with one of the most terrible realist sketches in the whole of European literature, *Creatures that once were Men* (also published in English under the title of *The Outcasts*), by Maxim Gorki, whom one suspects Mr. Caradoc Evans of imitating. That story is a tale of pure squalor, but in spite of that it is full of the eternal human charities. Old Captain Kouvalda, the doss-house keeper, who although always helping to draw his lodgers with him deeper and deeper into the slough of drunkenness and misery, yet never failed to help them at their need if it was in his power to do so, the drunken old schoolmaster, who only spent half his earnings on drink and the other on the poor starving little children of the slums, are monuments amidst the dreariness and the filth to the divinity of man. A short description of the old schoolmaster transforms the detailed descriptions of human weakness, selfishness and hypocrisy and makes them bearable and purposeful.

"Sometimes the schoolmaster would gather the children

> round him, buy a quantity of bread, eggs, apples, nuts and go with them into the fields towards the river. There they would greedily eat up all he had to offer them filling the air around with merry noise and laughter. The lank, thin figure of the drunkard seemed to shrivel up and grow small like the little ones around him, who treated him with complete familiarity as if he were one of their own age. They called him "Philippe", not adding even the title of "Uncle". They jumped around him like eels, they pushed him, got on his back, slapped his bald head, and pulled his nose. He probably liked it, for he never protested against these liberties being taken. He spoke very little to them, and his words were humble and timid, as if he were afraid that his voice might soil or hurt them. He spent many hours with them, sometimes as play thing, and at other times as play mate. He used to look into their bright faces with sad eyes, and would then slowly and thoughtfully slink off into Vaviloff's vodka shop where he would drink till he lost consciousness."

That justifies all the ruthless analysis of character and the cruel records of the actualities of life, because in the flash of a searchlight it also reveals its glories, and had Mr. Caradoc Evans enshrined in his two volumes five hundred lines of the same character he would have been able, without fear of conviction, to plead not guilty to the charge of blindness either natural or self inflicted.

But the indictment does not end with the general charge. We have still to point out that either from ignorance or incompetence the distinctive features of the life described, the features which make it unique and recognisable, are all missing or distorted. We need only give two instances. Every person who knows Wales knows also that, in the Eisteddfod, it possesses and cherishes one of the most wonderful democratic cultural institutions in the world to-day, which inspires the common people to effort in all the arts,—in music, in poetry, in prose, and in craft. The institution is mentioned, as far as I can remember, once in the two

volumes and then as the occasion of (if not the incitement to) immorality. The practice of anyone of the arts may be subversive of the code of morals declared in the decalogue, but surely when the life of a peasantry who, amidst all the varying ebbs and tides of social and political fortune have kept alive the fire of inspiration is described, it merits some more generous treatment than this.

Again, whatever may be the sins and weaknesses of the peasantry of Wales, and of West Wales in particular, no one can deny that their religious development has given them a knowledge of theological and religious terminology not to be equalled anywhere in the world. As Paxton Hood[1] said :—

> " Religion was the one topic upon which you might talk intelligently anywhere in Wales: with the pitman in the coal mine, with the iron smelter at the forge, with the farmer by his ingleside, with the labourer in his mountain shieling ; and not merely on the first more elementary lessons of the catechism, but on the great bearings and infinite relations of religious things. Jonathan Edwards, and Williams of Rotherham, and Owen, and Bunyan and Flavel, these men and their works, and a few others like them, were well known . . . . . . thus you might often feel surprised when, sitting down in some lowly cottage, you found yourself suddenly caught and carried along by its owner in a coil of metaphysical argument ".

We do not say it with any pride (for we know its inherent weaknesses) but it is true that there is less of the *anthropomorphism* of religion among the peasantry of Wales than among any other people in the world living such a simple uncultivated life ; but in these sketches the whole religious atmosphere is made ghastly with the most materialist anthropomorphism. The very county which is the scene of these sketches has produced some of the

[1] *Christmas Evans, the Preacher of Wild Wales* (p. 7), by Paxton Hood. Hodder & Stoughton.

most wonderful preachers our generations have known—Daniel Rowlands, Christmas Evans, Ebenezer Morris, Thomas and Ebenezer Richards—some of whom were brought up within a few miles of the actual spot where the horrible Bern Dafydd's sermon on "The Word" (*Capel Sion*, pp. 17-28) is supposed to have been delivered. One is almost tempted to think that this sermon is a conscious distortion of some of Christmas Evans' wonderful deliverances.

Whatever else may be said in the defence of these stories, they are not of the life of the Welsh peasantry—they are stories of the diseased minds and the deformed souls which are cast among all the congregations of men and women, and of whom generally the world speaks only in whispers and with tears.

There has recently been published in English a similar collection of sketches of the life of China-town, by Mr. Thomas Burke, under the title of *Limehouse Nights*, characterized also by the same ruthless realism, but at the same time by an overwhelming sympathy and charity. In the most terrible of them all, "The Paw", which is full of maniacal cruelty and torture, one is always conscious of an enormous passion looming over all its horrors:

> "The Greaser loved his wife with the miserable, furious passion of a weak thing. He loved her to life and death as such men do when they rise to it at all".

and given the character of the Greaser, combined with this passion and his "narcotised sensibilities", one understands how the terrible blow that fell upon him led to all the horror. The story is as much a defence as it is a condemnation. In others, such as "Gina of the China Town", we find pictures almost idyllic in their nature, only just hardened here and there in their outlines by a touch of pure realism. The book shows how this kind of work can

and should be done—for in it, the author (whether he has been just to China Town or not) has at any rate observed the inherent limitations and conditions of his method.

As we have already suggested, a new literary method often necessarily entails a new literary form, and it is hardly to be wondered at that so many of our realists have been forced to discover or to create for themselves a new language. Words, after all, are only tokens, and they become worn in use, and the images graven upon them indistinct, so that ultimately they do more to confuse the artist than to assist him. Mr. Gwynn Jones, for instance, in his realist poem *Pro Patria*—like his confrère, John Masefield,[1] in England—had to seek for a new poetic diction as the vehicle of his new ideas. This, we believe, has been the first task of the realist everywhere. Evidently Mr. Caradoc Evans was faced with the same problem—and it must be admitted that he has found an effective and adequate solution.

He knew that his work was to portray the coarseness of life, and he has created a coarse vocabulary and an uncouth idiom to convey his ideas. His method is simple in principle but somewhat complex in execution. He has generally (though not always) adopted the form of a Welsh sentence and translated it into English, maintaining partially the order of the original but almost invariably choosing the ugliest and coarsest English equivalent. His language is powerful, and it perfectly expresses his attitude and his ideas—but it bears no basic relation to the original Welsh, as one or two instances will demonstrate.

The famous Welsh hymn

> "Yn y dyfroedd mawr a'r tonnau
> Nid oes neb a ddeil fy mhen.
> Ond fy anwyl briod Iesu
> A fu farw ar y pren",

[1] Cp., *The Everlasting Mercy*, *The Widow in the Bye Street*, &c.

is translated in the story, entitled, "Three Men from Horeb" (*Capel Sion*), as follows :—

> "In the big floods and swells there is none to hold my head but my beloved husband, Jesus, who died upon the Wood".

No one can blame the author for his version, for he has the right to use the words, which are in tune with his work; but his version is not a *translation* of the original Welsh, and it is obvious that there has been an intentional choice of hard, ugly words.

All the prolonged conversations are so utterly unreal to anyone acquainted with the country described, and so full of ugly words hardly ever heard in any part of Wales, that it would be useless to give the original Welsh, the author's translation together with a parallel one, but certain typical phrases can be chosen. A common phrase used for God in this part of Cardiganshire is "*Y Bôd Mawr*" (not "Y Gwr Mawr" which is the term used for the squire), and the literal translation of it would be "The Great Being". In these sketches it is rendered "The big man", "The great man" (Y dyn mawr), "Great male" (Y gwrryw mawr).

The common Cardiganshire form "Gwedwch" (dywedwch) is rendered "*mouth*" (cegwch) or "*voice*" (lleisiwch) at will, and merely to give the Welsh equivalent of the author's form is to demonstrate its absurdity. "Gynau gwynion", is generally given as "white shirts", which in Cardiganshire would be "crysau gwynion". The exact rendering is beautiful and dignified, "white robes". Phrases like "Move your tongue now", "Clap your old lips", "What iobish do you spout", "Back you hie, you brazen slut", abound in the books, and merely to attempt to translate them would be sufficient to shew how un-Welsh they are.

But the author's language is no concern of ours in this note, except in so far as it might be taken by those

unacquainted with the original to be the exact equivalent of the Welsh. He has created an expressive and powerful form which admirably suits his purpose.

We have dwelt at such length on these two volumes not so much on account of their intrinsic importance, but because they are a sign of the times and also because their success may tempt others to follow along the same paths and disregard utterly the inherent laws of literary art. It may be, of course, that present events will create a great revulsion against the realistic and the actualistic methods in literature, and that Europe will see a great return to romance again, but it is just as likely that an intimate acquaintance of a generation with the ghastly realities and possibilities of life will make it all the more impatient with the accepted forms, methods, and traditions of the past. Indeed we are inclined to think that the remnant of the coming generation will not be willing "to pass by life, to suppress the deep and dark passions of the soul, and to lull by some lying and narcotic phrase the urgent questions of the mind". If that be so,—the coming age will be above all the age of the realist—but, it is worth remembering, he will only be sovereign at will,—so long as he can convince his age that his passion is for truth, that he is inspired by high ideals, that life to him is indeed "the sum of all human potentialities", that he sees it as a whole, and that he is able to find a place for all its forces "in a pattern in which none should be distorted", for these are the conditions of the existence of the realist.

A National War Museum and a Public Record Office for Wales.

By HUBERT HALL, F.S.A.,

Assistant Keeper of the Public Records; Secretary to the Royal Commission on Public Records.

It has been suggested that I might, with advantage to fellow students, state my views on the subject of the above institutions, both of which are generally believed to be "on order" for the Welsh nation.

There was a time, not so long past, when Welsh statesmen and scholars were discussing the best means of establishing a National Library and a National Museum for Wales. The accomplishment of these earlier ambitions may well encourage the belief that another "big push" will put Welshmen in possession of a National War Museum as well as a Public Record Office; for both these institutions are intimately concerned with the war itself. The daily history of the war can best be visualised from the exhibits that form the main feature of a War Museum, while the problems connected with its responsibilities can only be seriously studied from the original records that will be preserved in the national archives. In short the records will form the text of the History of the War, and the contents of the Museum will serve as illustrations to this text.

But there is another reason why the establishment of these institutions should be regarded as a matter of national importance. We have been reminded, more than

once, in recent years that the study of archives and other documentary sources of Modern History has been sadly neglected in this country. It is true that we have not taken this reproof to heart, and that we have made no special effort to mend our ways; but, here and there, we find scholars who resent the reproach of being outside the pale of European culture in this matter of the archives. Moreover we know that no excuse for this neglect is furnished by the vicissitudes of the State. Our public records were compiled and preserved under the same conditions as those which obtained abroad, and they have escaped the havoc that has been wrought in foreign archives by hostile invasion and civil war. The neglect that they have experienced, and the losses that they have consequently suffered, are due to the fact that their value as a national treasure has not been realized as it has been by Continental nations.

One cause of this foreign enlightenment has been frequently noted. The French Revolution brought about a remarkable change in the treatment of State documents. Instead of burning old records, like the insurgent peasantry of the Middle Ages, one of the first acts of the Republic was to nationalize them. There was no more ominous act in the early days of the Russian Revolution than the wanton destruction of archives. There is no more hopeful symptom, to-day, than the appointment of a body of experts[1] for the reorganisation of the ancient imperial archives.

With the restoration of the French monarchy, in 1814, the archives had become a national institution which no government dared to despise or neglect, and the care of archives was taught and practised as a State service. As Frankish scholars had reformed the official handwriting of Western Europe in the ninth century, so the

[1] Under the presidency of Professor Lappo-Danilewsky.

"Science" or "Economy" of the French archives was adopted by most of the European nations a thousand years later. In England, on the other hand, the public records have not been dealt with on these lines. Official documents which, in theory, are the property of the Crown have continued to be vested in their custodians, who have received no recognized training as archivists and who often have no knowledge of the nature or value of the records in their charge. This state of things is possibly due to the conservative distrust of the French Revolution which influenced English statecraft for more than one generation. Six hundred years earlier Matthew Paris petulantly assured his countrymen that England had no use for papal and imperial notaries, and following this insular tradition, we have held ourselves aloof from the methods of French scholars, to whose learning and patriotism the admirable system of the Continental archives is due.[1]

With this foreign archive system the cult of Libraries and Museums is closely associated; it is not surprising, therefore, that from the beginning of the war, collections were made by foreign governments to illustrate its progress. But now, in the third year of the war, a proposal for a National War Museum has begun to engage the attention of our own Government, and the event is really one of great interest and importance. To a mere onlooker it would seem as though this war will bring to pass the dream of our historians that has waited for its fulfilment during the whole of the smug Victorian era.[2]

It is well known that the question of a National War Museum is under consideration by a departmental Com-

[1] Langlois and Stein, "Archives de l'Histoire de France", p. xiii: *Quarterly Review*, Jan., 1910, pp. 42-47.

[2] *Edinburgh Review*, Oct., 1914, pp. 375-6.

mittee appointed by the First Commissioner of His Majesty's Works, to whose patriotic and enlightened enterprise the credit for the whole scheme mainly belongs. It is also known that the interests of Science, Archæology, History and Literature are represented by a sub-committee of experts. Under these circumstances it would be improper to make any conjecture as to the nature of the scheme that the Committee has in hand. It can, however, be inferred from the announcements made in the press that some scope will be left for other national or local enterprises.

Now this is where our immediate interest in the matter comes in. It may, perhaps, be assumed that the several nationalities concerned will become, as the new formula runs, the "masters of their own destinies" herein: that is to say that their requirements in respect of the equipment of war museums or archives will be the care of native archivists and historians. At the same time it must be remembered that the position of these members of the imperial family is intimately affected by the present "political state of Great Britain" and by the existing distribution of the archives of the war. In fact we should find, in the case of Scotland, Ireland, Wales and the Isle of Man, that the whole of the exhibits illustrating the several aspects of the war are vested in the Government departments at Whitehall. What may be the effect of this official monopoly on the national interests or sentiments of our Scottish, Irish and Manx neighbours, I have no right or wish to inquire. I am only concerned here with the case of Wales, because I have set out to discuss the purely academic question of the possibility and desirability of instituting a National War Museum for the Principality. It will be necessary, therefore, to examine the national position of Wales more closely.

In the first place it would seem that this resembles that of the other members of the imperial community in respect of the distribution of the various exhibits which must form the bulk of a National War Museum. In each case the warlike gear, relics and recent administrative documents are, as we have seen, under the control of the London authorities. If any of these historical objects are preserved elsewhere than in London, that is merely a matter of official convenience or arrangement and does not detract from the prerogative exercised by the secretariats or Boards.

I am not aware whether the above countries wish to have War Museums of their own, but the fact remains that Wales, which apparently does wish to possess such a memorial of the war, is just as much entitled to have it as are the others.

On the other hand, Wales is under a distinct disadvantage herein owing to the loss of its national records, which were removed to London some sixty years ago, whereas the records are still preserved at Edinburgh, Dublin and Douglas. Moreover, in the case of Jersey, Guernsey and the Colonial Dominions, Dependencies and Crown Colonies the distinction is emphasized by the preservation of administrative as well as judicial records abroad.[1] Now we know that from the Union of 1543 to 1830 the judicial records were preserved within the Principality, whilst earlier still, from 1284 to 1543, many administrative as well as judicial records were deposited in Welsh repositories.[2]

[1] Royal Commission on Public Records, Second Report (1914), Appendix (1).

[2] *Ibid.*, First Report (1912), Appx. (10); Second Report (1914), Appx. (1). *Cymmrodorion Society's Transactions*, 1900-1, pp. 40-52, and *Ibid.*, 1914-15, pp. 16-42.

It is scarcely surprising therefore that many Welshmen have regarded the transfer of those records as ill-advised. As it was the records were handed over, in some cases under protest, and remained in a more or less unsatisfactory state down to comparatively recent times.[1]

This historical incident has an important bearing on the subject of the institution of a National War Museum for Wales, because the Principality has been deprived of an archive establishment which elsewhere might serve as a collecting depôt for a National War Museum. In view, therefore, of the authoritative and emphatic Report of the Royal Commission on Public Records in favour of the repatriation of the Welsh records, an excellent opportunity exists for the erection of a Welsh Memorial which may combine the custody of the archives of the war with the collection of relics and objects of national and historical interest.

II.

Before I proceed to suggest a possible solution of the various local problems connected with the proposed establishment of a Public Record Office and National War Museum for Wales, it is important that those who have this matter at heart, in the interests of the Welsh nation at large, should realize the technical requirements of those institutions. A National War Museum appears to be associated in the minds of many people with a commemoration on the lines of the Victorian Jubilee Memorials, while letters incautiously addressed to the "Record Office, London", have been commonly delivered at the offices of the "Record" newspaper. In any case the full significance of the scholarly ideals inspired by such institutions has not been generally appreciated, and it is per-

[1] *Ibid.*, Royal Commission on Public Records, Minutes of Evidence, Q. 334 and 3666.

haps desirable that their relative positions should be clearly stated.

The Museum occupies a definite position in the scheme of national culture as the repository of scientific and archæological exhibits, which must be regarded as "objects" in distinction to "documents". Half-way between the two come the products of Art, which may also be displayed in more appropriate Galleries. The "documents" in question are everywhere preserved in two distinct repositories; official documents, in the shape of records and state papers, being found in Archives, and literary manuscripts, with printed books, in Libraries. Naturally a certain admixture or interchange of these elements is observable, but Museums, Archives, and Libraries may be readily distinguished by the above-mentioned characteristics. At the same time the official titles of certain institutions may be somewhat misleading. For example, the "British Museum" actually connotes the "National Library of England", and the removal of the scientific exhibits to a Natural History Museum may possibly forshadow the establishment of a National Art Gallery at no distant date. In the provinces, however, the intermixing of exhibits representing the domains of Science, Art, Archæology, History and Literature in a single Museum is still of frequent occurrence and is perhaps inevitable under existing circumstances. Indeed this exigency furnishes, incidentally, a useful object lesson as to the value of all these materials for a survey of the national history.

It will appear from the above statement that the purpose of a National War Museum is definite, and its functions will be exercised at the discretion of the authorities concerned: that is to say, the proposed museum may purport to include all the available exhibits illustrating

the war, or only such as come readily to hand. In the former case, a scientific and comprehensive plan of operations will be necessary; but, in the end, this would not involve much more trouble or expense than a casual method of collection. In any case it is important that all the materials that exist for a permanent commemoration and adequate history of the war should be carefully noted. It follows, therefore, that it will be necessary to determine the following points: (1) What the proper contents of a War Museum should be. (2) Whether these are actually available for exhibition. (3) If so, how they can be properly housed, arranged and described to the best advantage.

Now each of these processes is complementary to the other. To select a site and obtain a grant of the necessary funds for building and maintenance before the nature and use of the exhibits or their extent and distribution have been ascertained, would seem to be the wrong way of setting to work. It is, indeed, obvious that no real progress could be made with the establishment of such an institution until it has been decided what it will contain; nor can the contents be estimated until their nature and use, their extent and distribution have been exhaustively determined. The very position and size of the building must depend on the character of the matter that is available. Certain important materials may be found to be unavailable, others may prove undesirable; not a few may have been already appropriated by local authorities and collectors.

These and other points ought to be ascertained by means of a preliminary survey, for which the knowledge of official experts and the co-operation of local antiquaries and historians should be utilised. At the same time some definite provision should be made to recover documents or

relics that have strayed from official custody, and the respective spheres of influence of the imperial and local authorities should be carefully ascertained to avoid the risk of a disastrous competition.

These are operations that require both knowledge and tact, for even the most persuasive methods of official enterprise will avail little without an exact knowledge of the materials that may be found in sundry places. Finally it is very desirable, in this connection, that the national character and patriotic objects of the proposed collection should be widely known and appreciated. These things may be taken for granted in high places, but they should be emphasized for the benefit of smaller folk.

In the matter of the contents of a War Museum that will claim to be of national or permanent importance, there is already a wealth of exhibits in prospect, if these can be realized. Whether such a museum should include exhibits illustrative of the naval and military methods, the history and literature of allied or hostile states, is an academic problem that the author of this Paper will not attempt to solve. That these are objects of common interest cannot be doubted; but, on the other hand, it would be impossible to bring together in any one place a complete collection of universal exhibits: an arbitrary or fortuitous system would have little scientific value. When the belligerent nations have completed their individual national collections, printed catalogues can be readily used by students. In the meantime the respective National Museums might include a foreign section for the display of the various trophies or relics that have come to hand.[1]

[1] It will be remembered that in the case of documents, intercepted or captured papers have always had a recognised place in the State archives.

The normal exhibits[1] in a National War Museum will include material objects such as the various engines of war, with models and divers reproductions of naval and military tactics. Other exhibits such as colours, uniforms and other insignia, together with many relics from famous battlefields, will have a sentimental as well as a didactic value. Closely related to these are certain types of documentary exhibits such as plans, drawings, portraits and other delineations of the incidents or figures of the war, and these might be more conveniently displayed in a gallery annexe.

A third class of exhibits will comprise the documents; and these again may be sub-divided as printed and unprinted materials. If prints, photographs and other delineations are classed as objects of Art, the contents of the above sub-divisions can be roughly estimated. In the first place, however, it is necessary to insist that a sharp distinction between printed and unprinted documents is not always possible, or desirable. The fact that a certain document has been printed, while others of a like nature remain unprinted, is largely due to accident or caprice, as well as to our haphazard method of issuing historical publications. Many important series of manuscripts have been published piecemeal; others have been kept unpublished. Under these circumstances we cannot regard the original MSS. and the partial reproductions thereof as entirely independent sources. In fact the necessity of co-ordinating the printed and unpublished sources has been tardily or grudgingly acknowledged, and this method has formed a noticeable feature of the best historical bibliographies in recent years. It is, therefore, important that the administration of a National War

[1] Those mentioned in the following lines must, of course, be regarded only as types.

Museum should recognize this method of co-ordination in connection with a survey of the documentary exhibits.

There are, of course, many printed books that are not affected by the above consideration. In order to make this point clear it may be possible to regard the whole body of printed historical literature as falling naturally into three main groups. These are: (1) The "original sources" which have hitherto been printed. (2) Various compilations that are based directly or indirectly on original sources. (3) The still more numerous works that are based on common knowledge, hearsay or mere supposition, rather than on any specific source of information.

How far it is necessary to preserve copies of every type of historical literature relating to the War for the supposed benefit of posterity, is a question that may yet have to be decided. A select bibliography has always been viewed with some distrust by expert bibliographers, but modern historical students have rebelled against a method of historical research which had been reduced to an absurdity. Here, at least, a drastic "selection" would seem to be inevitable. It goes without saying that the term "printed book" will cover such forms as pamphlets, broadsides, &c.

In the case of the unprinted documents, the position is one of still greater difficulty, for here not only is the bulk of the material relatively larger, but it is also much more difficult to classify, with a view to a survey or selection. The manuscript materials for the History of the War correspond, on the whole, with the first division of printed materials mentioned above. Since the invention of printing, compilations more or less based on the original sources and works of imagination have not usually been preserved in a manuscript form; but such as have survived

in this form only have usually come to be reputed as "sources".[1]

It remains, then, to sort out these documentary sources, but this is a somewhat delicate as well as a difficult operation. To begin with, no scientific or even scholarly attempt has been made to deal with the documents for the purpose of ascertaining and describing their various natures and their several uses. We have a classification of the official records, which is both arbitrary and incomplete, for it is based on the overlapping and interchangeable custody of the old courts and departments of State, while it has not attempted to co-ordinate the records, as now preserved, with the vast number of official documents that have found their way from time to time into other collections. We have no classification whatever of our local records, and the remaining original sources of a literary nature have not been classified or co-ordinated, as a whole, with the official or local records.

It will be obvious that a nation that has not troubled to evolve an intelligent classification of its historical records and manuscripts will not have a very exact knowledge of their several relationships and values. At the same time it may be said that we have an adequate description, to hand, of most of the important records and MSS. preserved in our national repositories. Certainly the custodians, as well as unofficial historians and antiquaries, have enlarged on the importance of various classes or specimens of documents; but the result of their learned labours will not be helpful for the present purpose. It might indeed assist us greatly in replenishing a museum connected with the study of archæology and

[1] An exception may perhaps be made in the case of the original "copy" of printed works which has gradually acquired a sensational value for personal or sentimental reasons.

mediæval history; but it is well known that the later State Papers, with the records of the War Office, Admiralty and other departments concerned in the conduct of the war, have not yet been completely or adequately catalogued.[1] Much has been done in the way of identification and description of these modern records by the Royal Commission appointed in 1910;[2] but a great deal more remains to be accomplished before all the original sources for the History of the War can be finally considered and selections made therefrom for exhibition or permanent preservation in the archives.

In the first place, therefore, we may take it that it is essential to know what official documents exist before they can be properly examined and utilized. In the second place, we must know how these records are distributed, and how far they are available for exhibition or reference. Again, it would seem very desirable that some decision should be arrived at with regard to the general scope of the collection; that is to say what types or classes of documents are to be admitted and what are to be excluded?[3]

Another point to be decided is concerned with the period of time covered by the collection: for example is it to be confined to the period of the war, or will the archives of the war be brought together over an indefinite period?

In this matter a special difficulty is suggested by the Reports of the Royal Commission.[4] It is the official practice in this and other countries for the papers of the various Government departments to be periodically transferred to the central archives as they mature. Here they

[1] *Quarterly Review*, April, 1917, pp. 505-507.

[2] Second Report, Appendix iii, No. 77 and *passim*.

[3] This question applies equally to other classes of exhibits.

[4] Especially the Second Report, pp. 61-66.

form part of a permanent series which becomes accessible to students in due course. To divert any considerable portion of these records to a new repository, where they would be less accessible for purposes of reference, might prove a real hardship to students.

It is true that these archives of the war appear to be as yet imperfectly, or rather partially arranged and described,[1] but the same might be said of a large proportion of the State Papers of the last two centuries. In any case it is indisputable that the records of every period should be properly catalogued and described, both to ensure their preservation and to facilitate authorized researches.

Incidentally, this matter is of some importance. We have seen that a War Museum and a Public Record Office has each an interest (one immediate and the other reversionary) in these archives of the war; but besides this question of access for students, there is the far more important question of their permanent preservation. For this purpose the Museum may play the part of a careful foster-mother, since the records may be, soon or later, in grave danger of destruction. It would certainly be useless to insist upon their retention for transmission to the archives if they are never destined to reach the hands of future historians.[2]

This is the real crux of the matter. These archives of the war to-day are securely preserved, in almost infinite extent and variety, within numerous official repositories. They are, for the most part, the lineal successors of the archives of what we once thought to be great national

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 89-92.

[2] The argument (if it should be advanced) that the substance of these documents has been published in official prints is vitiated by the practice of official expurgation.

wars in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; but where are these archives now?

We have learnt, for the first time, from the amazing revelations of a recent Blue Book[1] that a very large proportion, amounting in some cases to 95 per cent. of these collections, is no longer in official custody.

For the manner of the disappearance of the documents reference must be made to the authorities here cited. It may suffice to say that the destruction wrought by the natural enemies of archives (and equally of libraries and museums) namely, fire, water, dirt, vermin and thieves, has apparently been far exceeded by the deliberate destruction carried out by their custodians on various pretexts.[2]

Of these the most convincing is the positive necessity for conserving space, and thereby labour and other incidental charges of the custody of archives. A further reason, which would be more properly advanced by historians than by archivists, indicates the increasing difficulty of dealing with the great accumulations of historical materials. The ultimate bearing of the whole matter on the position of the proposed War Museum really depends, therefore, on the permanent security of the records which must be the ultimate authority for any serious history of the war. The answer that is given to this question by the Reports of the Royal Commission raises grave doubts with regard to the fate of many of the records of other "great" wars in which this country has been engaged since the Napoleonic era. Some have been burnt, or defaced by damp, or appropriated, as the result of negligent custody; others have been destroyed by

[1] Second Report of Royal Commission on Public Records (1914), pp. 67-72; *Contemporary Review*, May, 1916, p. 608.

[2] *Quarterly Review*, April, 1917, pp. 500-503.

unexpert boards of officers or departmental committees, contrary to statutes made for their protection.[1]

Many of the archives that have been allowed to perish within living memory could be supplemented by State Papers that still survive, though these are no longer in official custody. I refer to the documents that have been removed from public departments, at one time or another, and are now regarded as the private property of those persons who have inherited or otherwise acquired them.

Under the head of Local Records, it will not be practicable to include, in a War Museum, any large body of documents of a public nature, even where these may illustrate the administrative and social history of the war. The business of the local courts may reflect the effects of the war in the shape of convictions, orders, bankruptcies, and inquests; but these evidences will be practically supplied by printed statistics. Of far greater interest and value are the records of the local Statutory Authorities; the various Committees dealing with distress, pensions, agriculture, food, savings and other matters of national concern. Here again, however, the interest of the individual collections is cumulative, though they are to a large extent an unknown quantity. Again we may surmise that the inclusion in the archives of derelict local records appears to afford the only hope (especially in Wales) of their permanent preservation.

We now come to the last group of presumptive exhibits, documents of a private or literary nature, as distinguished from the public interest of official records; but it will be evident that this class cannot furnish many types of value to the historian of the war. For the mediæval period, and for such subjects as political, constitutional or ecclesiastical history, the case would have been different. At

[1] The Public Record Office Acts of 1838 and 1877.

the same time there will be many "semi-official" papers in private custody which might be deposited or lent for exhibition or reference. Other types of special interest would include diaries, correspondence and accounts. Finally, mention may be made of the extensive muniments of societies, associations, and various professional and trading corporations to which a fresh interest will be added in connection with the war.

Such are the main classes of exhibits that should, perhaps, come under the consideration of the authorities of a National War Museum. These indications will assist in determining how these exhibits could be most suitably distributed and preserved in the Principality.

III.

In the first part of this paper I ventured to suggest that a National War Museum and a Public Record Office for Wales might fulfil a common purpose, and I will now attempt to show how the two schemes might proceed towards their accomplishment, hand in hand.

In the first place, before we build upon the prospects of either of these new institutions, we should naturally consider whether the requirements of the Principality could be supplied by existing institutions.

Of these, the National Library of Wales contains books and other printed matter, literary and historical manuscripts, local records and certain public records relating to Wales, acquired by gift, purchase, or statutory grant.

The National Museum of Wales contains various scientific, archæological and artistic exhibits, including specimens of MSS. and books of reference. Each of these important institutions would doubtless be prepared to add to its present responsibilities by taking charge of such exhibits relating to the war as seemed most appropriate

to its national objects. It may also be assumed that the National Library would be able to make suitable provision for the Welsh records, if and when these are retransferred from London in accordance with the recommendations of the Royal Commission. Moreover, the National Museum will be concerned eventually with many of the exhibits that would illustrate the conditions of the war as they affect Wales.

The most obvious objection to such a promising arrangement would be that neither of these institutions is specially equipped for dealing with the reconstruction of the archives and workshops of the war. It will be evident, from the statement made in the second part of this Paper, that such undertakings require special experience for their successful execution. We shall also see that the archives with which we are now concerned are outside the spheres of interest of both these institutions.

But if the above conclusion is inevitable, it does not follow that those who are interested in the projects of a Welsh Record Office and War Museum are at the end of their resources. It would certainly have simplified matters if these undertakings could have been handed over to existing institutions without raising the difficult question of obtaining funds for the erection and suitable equipment of two new national institutions or the delicate question of their respective locations. At the same time it must be remembered that the proposals of Welsh statesmen and scholars, and the recommendations of the Royal Commission in recent years, have alike contemplated the provision of a Public Record Office for Wales as a new and independent institution. The important point, therefore, seems to be whether this third national institution can be utilized for the concentration of documents and relics of the war without in-

curring the expense of building and equipping a separate War Museum.

And here it is necessary to speak very frankly about the whole situation. It may be that an adequate Record Office and War Museum can be provided and equipped, as separate institutions, without risk of the reaction that follows on most rash undertakings. Even so, however, there are two or three considerations which should be carefully weighed by all concerned.

The first of these is that, with the exception of the judicial records now preserved in London and a few others recently transferred to Aberystwyth, the national archives of Wales are practically non-existent at this moment. They would certainly need to be defined and identified before they are available either for a Record Office or a War Museum.

The second point is that these two institutions would find themselves competing, on unequal terms, with existing bodies in respect of the collection of the earlier MSS. and certain classes of material exhibits; for no statutory intervention can be contemplated in this matter.

The third point is that although there can be no complete or serviceable collection of Public Records until some further scheme of local government for Wales has been propounded, there are many public records now in local custody which could be brought together with advantage to the public departments concerned and, incidentally, with a considerable saving of expense for their maintenance. In this and other directions a considerable amount of spade-work will have to be done before the Welsh records can be transferred to a new repository, and the sooner this work is taken in hand, the more chance there will be of preserving the records and making them accessible to students.

It would seem, therefore, that a Public Record Office and a National War Museum for Wales, if and when they are constituted, must be chiefly concerned with purely preparatory work during the first few years of their existence. During these years the building of the archives would be carried on and sufficient accommodation could be provided on the spot for such documents and exhibits as required immediate attention. When these operations have been completed; when the Record Office has been built (as a model of its kind for the whole Empire[1]) and filled with the records and exhibits that have accrued, these collections can then be transferred to their permanent receptacles.

Probably it would be found desirable to take powers for a broad and scholarly scheme of distribution. Hitherto the obligation, real or imaginary, of preserving certain documents in a particular court or office, with which they have been traditionally associated, has proved a stumbling-block to antiquaries. The result has been constant duplication and inconsistency. Students have been mystified by these cross-references, and much official time and copious stores of paper and ink have been wasted in attempts to describe these heterogeneous documents. It has been the cause of needless jealousies and wasteful competition between official bodies, whilst it has provided a direct incentive to the misappropriation of documents and has offered no inducement for their restoration to national or local collections. If this proprietary system of classification were abandoned, it would be possible to make a more scientific and serviceable distribution of the con-

[1] This does not possess a single reputable building of the kind, with the possible exception of the new Canadian archives at Ottawa. It may be mentioned in this connection that the Public Record Commissioners inspected, in 1912, an up-to-date repository at Rotterdam which cost only some £10,000.

tents of any large national collection of historical documents. In the place of obsolete custodies, new spheres of official interest would be created, and these would have a common interest in an intelligent distribution of historical sources.

In the case of Wales, these spheres of interests may be roughly defined as below, to indicate the respective contents of the several national institutions, together with the proposed allocation of documents and exhibits :—

A. *Existing Institutions.*

(1) National Library of Wales—

(*a*) Department of printed books, &c. (including prints).

(*b*) Department of MSS. (including seals).

(*c*) National War Museum (special collection of printed books and prints).

Note.—All historical and literary documents, other than official records, to be transferred here from the Public Record Office for Wales for permanent preservation.

(2) National Museum of Wales—

(*a*) Existing departments.

(*b*) National War Museum (special collection of professional, scientific, economic, social and artistic exhibits illustrating the War, as affecting Wales).

Note.—War exhibits to be transferred from the Public Record Office for Wales to the National Museum.

B. *Proposed Institutions.*

(3) Public Record Office for Wales—

(*a*) Record Department. All official documents, the property of the Crown, which may be transferred from the London Record Office or departmental and provincial re-

positories, or deposited by local authorities and private individuals for the use of students.

Note.—All literary MSS. to be transferred to the National Library of Wales, and all War Exhibits to be transferred to the National Museum for Wales.

(*b*) National War Museum for Wales (Directory and Secretariat and special collection of the archives of the War).

(4) National War Museum for Wales—

(*a*) Directory and Secretariat (at the Public Record Office for Wales).

(*b*) Special collection of archives of the War (at the Public Record Office for Wales).

(*c*) Special collection of Printed Books, &c. (at the National Library of Wales).

(*d*) Special collection of War exhibits (at the National Museum of Wales).

It will be seen from the above statement that the suggested distribution of the Welsh archives and War exhibits would add considerably to the value and importance of the existing contents of the National Library and National Museum respectively. It would also justify the early establishment of the long promised Public Record Office as a collecting and distributing agency in connection with the outstanding public records and the exhibits for the proposed War Museum. Finally it would make the establishment of a War Museum possible at a comparatively small cost and with far better results, in respect of the merit of the collection, than if it were housed in a separate building, unless such a building were adjacent to the Record Office: for the archives of the War which must be preserved there will form, if not the most important section of a National War Museum, at least that which is

most likely to endure. It is unthinkable that an imposing institution should be established for the preservation of relics, trophies, and other mementos of the war, whilst the title-deeds of the Welsh nation to its national estate continue to moulder and rot in a Babylonian captivity.[1]

History, indeed, teaches us to doubt the permanent utility, or popularity, of national memorials that are exclusively associated with successive historical events. Some of those events undoubtedly excited the strongest emotions of contemporary witnesses; but after the lapse of many years their testimony leaves us unmoved. It is otherwise with the monuments of local patriotism and piety which have always formed enduring land-marks in the civilization of even the smallest states. A worn Celtic cross or a fissured tombstone can move us more deeply than stately monuments showing where the funeral procession of a Plantagenet queen halted, or where a great fire or a grievous plague were stayed. And so the earliest palaces and forts have been replaced by public buildings—courts of justice and town-halls, churches and chapels, libraries and institutes; and besides these in "some old-fashioned house, in an old-fashioned street of an old-fashioned town", throughout the continent of Western Europe, we should find the public archives.

In one of the remoter Swiss cantons there is a small but ancient town wherein an unpretentious archive-house displays the following proud inscription:

"I watch over the old charters of liberty of the men of
this town;

[1] *Ezra*, I, vi. The archives of the Vatican underwent the same experience in the fourteenth century. The term of the exile of the mediæval popes at Avignon in the fourteenth century A.D. coincided, roughly, with that of the deportation of the Jews to Babylon, in the sixth century B.C. The deposit of the Welsh records in London has lasted for a somewhat shorter period.

"To preserve the liberties themselves, is their own care."

Then there is the other picture, recently drawn by an American explorer of the Mexican archives.[1] Everywhere the student looks in vain for a track through the wilderness of unsorted records; for during three centuries that nation has put off till "to-morrow" what should have been done to-day. And so the old charters of its liberties are lost sight of and forgotten; and so for us also "to-morrow" may be one day too late.

Can we not interpret profitably the writing on the walls of these neglected archives? A nation without records is not only the poorer for the loss of a heritable treasure; it is as a ship without its logs, or a trading company without its ledgers; *nominum umbrae*, represented, some day, only by a hulk and a brass plate. Moreover, the longer these muniments are left in abeyance, the more difficult will be their restoration. "Mañana" has only one significance for business men.

If, indeed, the preservation of their national records was a matter of great moment to the Commons of England under Plantagenet and Hanoverian kings alike; if this has also been the occasion of passionate protest by the Commons of Scotland and Ireland, and even by the county justices of Wales; and if the tiny Channel Islands and the whole of the Dominions and dependencies over sea have preserved their respective national archives and published much of their contents, is it not time Welshmen made a special effort to accomplish something of the same kind?

[1] "Guide to the Manuscript materials (for U.S.A. History) in the archives of Mexico", p. v.

Welshmen in the American War of Independence.

By E. ALFRED JONES,

Author of "Church Plate of the Diocese of Bangor", etc., etc.

The Welsh were almost unaffected by the wave of emigration, forced by economic conditions, from Scotland and Ulster to the American Colonies in the eighteenth century. Many individual Welshmen, however, faced the long and dreary passage across the Atlantic to seek fortune in the new World, as will be shown in this article.[1]

The present writer's interest in the subject which forms the title of this paper began with a study of the mass of MSS. of the American Loyalists in the Public Record Office in London.

Before presenting a few biographical sketches of the Welshmen among these loyalists, based upon the original material just mentioned, it is proposed to offer a few remarks on the men of Welsh nationality or of Welsh descent who were adherents of the American cause in the great struggle which ended with the loss of the American Colonies to England.

Taking the names at random, there was General Daniel Morgan, who, as the name indicates, was of Welsh extraction, and who is known as the "Hero of Cowpens", from his defeat of Lord Cornwallis in that battle. Of the fifty-six signatories to the celebrated Declaration of Independence in 1776, no fewer than four were of Welsh descent, while a fifth was born in the Principality.

[1] A Welsh settlement had been formed in South Carolina in 1735-36. From these emigrants have descended many distinguished men of that State. (*History of South Carolina* under the Royal Government, 1719-1776, by E. McCrady, 1899, p. 136.)

These were Jefferson, Williams, William Floyd, and Lewis Morris, the native-born Welshman being Francis Lewis, who is said to have hailed from Llandaff.[1]

One warrior of Welsh birth was Isaac Shelby, who was a hard and stubborn fighter in the frequent engagements in the Carolinas. Another soldier of Welsh blood was Colonel John Thomas,[2] the successor of Colonel Thomas Fletchall, the loyalist, as Colonel of Militia in South Carolina. There were other men from the little principality of Wales, as active in this great war as was Jefferson Davis, of direct Welsh descent, on the Confederate side in the Civil War.

Turning now to an account of the Welsh loyalists, the most conspicuous was perhaps Anthony Stokes, barrister-at-law, who is described in the admission book of Gray's Inn, under date of 28 January, 1758, as of the parish of St. Andrew's, Holborn, gentleman. He was, however, called to the bar by the Inner Temple, of which he was elected a bencher in 1796. This description would seem to rule out all possibility of Anthony Stokes's Welsh descent, but his own declaration of his nationality is obtained from three sources, namely, from his memorial to the Commissioners of American Claims, from his printed petition[3] of 10 January, 1785, to William Pitt, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and from a letter mentioned later.

The official career of this Welshman began with his appointment, a few years after his call to the bar, on the Colonial Council of Antigua. On 15 May, 1767, he was appointed Chief Justice of the Southern Caribbee Islands, and on St. David's Day, 1771, he was transferred to America, as member of the council of the province of Georgia, and Chief Justice, an appointment which had been made in 1768.[4] The honourable office of Chief Justice was held by Anthony Stokes until war put an end

[1] See *The Scotch-Irish in America*, by H. Jones Ford 1915, p. 491.
[2] McCrady's *South Carolina in the Revolution*, 1775-80, p. 608.
[3] Public Record Office: F.O.4/1. [4] Public Record Office: C.O. 5/657.

to his enjoyment of it. Finding things too hot for him, he returned in 1776 to England, where he remained until he received orders in 1779 to return to Georgia, upon its subjugation by the British. On the passage out on H.M. ship *Experiment*,[1] he was the observer of a smart action between that vessel and the enemy.

Anthony Stokes claims to have been the only Chief Justice from the revolted colonies who had been called to the English bar. He performed the functions of his office of Chief Justice until 1782, when the British evacuated Savannah, and he returned home on H.M. frigate *Carysfort*, on which he accidentally broke his arm.

Tributes to his strong character and to his firm administration of justice were paid not only by such distinguished loyalists as Sir James Wright, Governor of Georgia, but also by Americans, whose respect he had won.

The following letter[2] from Anthony Stokes to the Commissioners of American Claims, dated from 1, Inner Temple Lane, 23 February, 1786, is not without interest:—

"I beg Leave to return you my Thanks, for increasing my Allowance (as the King's late Chief Justice, and a Member of his Council of Georgia) from £50. to £100. a year. on my receiving the Arrears, I hastened to pay some Debts, I had contracted; but I unfortunately find, my present Income inadequate to my decent Support; I, and my Family yet want many Necessaries—I still owe some Debts—and I lately borrowed Money to pay for my Daughter's Schooling. Having been driven to the Bar for Bread, on Account of my slender Allowance, I attend regularly there; and was absent from Westminster Hall, only one Day during the last Term: The Fruits of my Attendance, were only 2 half Guinea Motions: For, by a long Absence from this Country, I have lost my Connections; And whilst I was serving my Sovereign, in the prime of Life, in an unwholesome Climate; young Men have got forward, who were at the Breast, when I was called to the Bar.

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[1] This ship was captured at the end of 1779 by the French, with £30,000 in specie on board. (*Hist. MSS. Comm.*: *Report on the American MSS. in the Royal Inst.*, Vol. ii, p. 71.)

[2] Public Record Office: A.O. 13/137.

"I shall not mention the Names of several (my Inferiors in Office; and not my Superiors in Loyalty, or Character,) who have Allowances from £200. up to £500. a a Year, and a Prospect of large Compensation; whilst I have no Claim depending: Such an Enumeration might appear invidious: And as I subscribe to the Merit, and Pretensions of those Gentlemen, I rejoice at their good Fortune; However to convince your Honorable Board, that I am not inferior to those Gentlemen, in any Respect; I beg Leave to inclose a Copy of a Certificate, subscribed by a Number of Loyalists; and which I trust, no Man who knows me, would hesitate to sign.

"I do most readily admit the strict Impartiality of your Board: But there has been some unfortunate Misapprehension of my Case; or an Enemy has endeavour'd To do me a Prejudice, which I sho^d^ be happy to remove by producing several of the Principal Loyalists, who know me; to speak to my Character, and Conduct. Such an Examination might, perhaps, induce you to place my Name as high in the List of temporary Subsistance as those of inferior official Rank.

"When I applied at Whitehall to have my Case recommended back for your Reconsideration; I was told that the Treasury Board had come to a Resolution ag^t^ making any such Recommendation; and that the Matter rested with you; It has also been a Rule of your Board, not to pay any Attention to Patronage, or Interest. I therefore beg Leave to throw myself on the Justice of Gentlemen, selected by a solemn Act of the Supreme Power in the State, to dispense the Benevolence intended for the unfortunate Loyalists; without Favor, or affection to any one: And as it is one of the Qualities of liberal Minds, to be open to Conviction; and to rejoice at an Opportunity of correcting any Mistake; I therefore rely on your Humanity to measure out to me the same Justice that you have done to others: Being satisfied that you are alike insensible to Resentment, and Recommendation.

"I am the rather induced to address you at this Time, because the Governor of Georgia, and several other Loyalists, who had considerable Allowances, are dead: And I have been informed that in the Case of those who have received Compensations; a Deduction is made from their temporary Subsistence, in Proportion to such Compensation, for the Purpose of increasing the Allowances of the Crown Officers from America: And, at this Juncture, an Increase of Income, wo^d^ be a happy Circumstance, for me, and my Family.

"But sho^d^ your Board be decidedly of Opinion not to increase my present Allowance; I then trust that this Letter will be taken in good Part; and not excite a Displeasure in you, that may distress me by lessening my present Pittance.

"I shall think myself highly obliged by a speedy Answer to this: that in Case I have nothing to hope for; I may look round, and endeavour to raise some Money to supply my present Necessities"

This letter is endorsed, probably by one of the Commissioners:—

"Having been already reconsidered cannot at present take any steps in Consequ of his Request".

Copies of Certificates

"I, Sir James Wright, Baronet, late Governor of Georgia, do hereby certify; that I was well acquainted with Anthony Stokes, Esq., late Chief Justice of the said Province and also one of his Majesty's Council there, That the said Anthony Stokes, during his Continuance in those Stations, until the Evacuation in July, 1782, discharged his Duty, with great Ability, Honor, and Integrity. That he was a firm and steady Loyalist; truly zealous to promote, and support his Majesty's Authority, and Government, and uniform in his Opposition to the Rebellion; and, as a private Gentleman, esteemed by all who had the pleasure of his Acquaintance. That he has certainly suffered greatly by the Rebellion; and I consider him as a very worthy deserving Person. In Testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, the 2d Day of November, 1784.

"(Signed) Ja: Wright.

"In Addition to the Certificate of Sir James Wright; We whose Names are hereunto subscribed, Crown Officers and others, Inhabitants of the province of Georgia, in North America; do hereby certify; that we know, and are well acquainted with Anthony Stokes, Esq., his Majesty's late Chief Justice of that Province; that during his Continuance in that Office, he discharged his Duty with an Uprightness, and Integrity universally acknowledged, by all Ranks and Descriptions of people. That no Man could possibly have exhibited greater Zeal for the Service of his Sovereign, or have shewn a more determined, or uniform Opposition to the Rebellion. That, besides his public Conduct being most unexceptionable his private Character as a Gentleman, entitled him to, and procured him the Esteem of all who had the pleasure of his Acquaintance. We therefore, in Justice to his great Merit sincerely unite in bearing this Testimony to his Integrity, Loyalty and Sufferings.

"Given under our hands at London, this 2d day of November, 1784.

"(Signed by)

"John Graham, late Lieutenant Governor of Georgia.

"Lewis Johnston, late a Member of his Majesty's Council for Georgia.

"Josiah Tatnall, late a Member of his Majesty's Council for Georgia.[1]

"Martin Jollie, late a Member of his Majesty's Council for Georgia, &c.

"John Jamieson, late Member of the Assembly of Georgia.

"B. Cowper, Member of the Assembly, Georgia.

"James Butler, Member of the Assembly of Georgia.

"S. H. Jenkins, Member of the house of Assembly of Georgia.

"Wm. Jones, Member of the house of Assembly of Georgia.

"Simon Munro, late a Member of the Assembly of Georgia.

"Simon Paterson, Member of the Commons house of Assembly

"Ja: Herriot, Member of the house of Assembly, Georgia.

"John Rennie MA.[2] late Rector of St Philip's Georgia, now Vicar of Chilver's Coton, Warwicks.

"George D'erbage, late Master in Chancery in Georgia.[3]

In one of several letters[4] from Anthony Stokes to the Commissioners of American Claims, praying for relief, dated 23 October, 1784, he complains of his harassed financial position and of the inadequacy of the allowance of £50 per annum. In another, dated 14 January, 1785, he states that he was on the point of breaking in on his small capital and sacrificing £100 worth for £55. He was, however, relieved from the necessity of making this heavy sacrifice by an opportune loan of £30 from his wife's sister. But this loan was only sufficient for the immediate needs of the family. To pay the rent of his chambers in the Temple he was obliged to sell his gold watch. If the Commissioners were unable to grant him a more substantial allowance forthwith, he would be compelled to

[1] Josiah Tatnall was born at Charleston, but settled in Georgia, where he was a planter and sawyer; colonel of a militia regiment; and holder of several public offices during the war. In 1785 he was surveyor-general of lands in the Bahamas.

[2] The Rev. John Rennie was instituted as Vicar of Chilvers Coton, 21 April, 1783, and was succeeded on 25 September, 1786, by the Rev. Bernard Gilpin Ebdell, the "Mr. Gilfil" of George Eliot's *Scenes of Clerical Life*, though the latter appears not to have entered immediately upon his duties. Public Record Office: A. O., 13/137.

[3] The claims and petitions of these Georgia loyalists are in the Public Record Office, A. O., 12 and 13.

[4] Public Record Office: F.O. 4/1.

dispose of all his investments to pay for the education of his daughter and for the rent of his lodgings at No. 53, Theobald's Road.

In a later letter[1] dated 23 August, 1788, he declines to prefer a memorial for compensation for the loss of his property in Georgia because "the quantum of such loss would in a great measure depend on a memorialist's own evidence", and, therefore, might make it necessary for an examination on oath, to which, as will be observed later, he had a strong objection;[2] but the facts stated in his petition for compensation for the loss of his office of Chief Justice and his services and sufferings in the cause of Government admitted of proof by others, trusting that no Crown Officer from America had adduced stronger evidence of uniform loyalty to the King, attachment to the British Government, or zeal in opposing the rebellion, than he had done. Anthony Stokes declares further that it would always afford him great satisfaction to reflect that there was not one loyalist or American who had attempted to impeach his loyalty or moral character in a single instance. He ends with his thanks for the increase in his allowance to £200 and with the hope that if on any occasion he had unfortunately manifested the least peevishness, either by letter or in person, he would earnestly request the Commissioners' pardon, and hoped that they would not attribute it to that "absurd irascibility" to which the natives of the Principality of Wales are "proverbially subject".

In another letter Anthony Stokes mentions that in Lon-

[1] Public Record Office: A.O. 13/85.

[2] There is no evidence in the documents that he was a Quaker. Several Quakers were among the loyalist claimants, and their faith was invariably mentioned, *e.g.*, Captain Thomas Gummersall, of the King's Royal Regiment of New York, who, being a Quaker, was permitted to affirm in evidence on his claim, before Anthony Stokes at Savannah, in June, 1775. (*Second Report of the Bureau of Archives, Province of Ontario*, 1904, p. 254.)

don he was compelled by his inadequate income to exercise the greatest economy, and that in consequence he "was a stranger to all public places and amusements of all kinds". His aversion from taking an oath is again emphasized in this letter, where he hopes that, knowing his scruples, he would not be required to take an oath when he attends upon the Commissioners to give evidence in support of his claim.

An affidavit of his clerk, Edward Harraden, sworn 29 August, 1788, states that Anthony Stokes was not at that date in the enjoyment of any place or employment of profit or emolument, ecclesiastical, civil or military, under the Crown, or any half-pay or allowance for military services in America, except the sum of £200 a year allowed by Government for his temporary subsistence as an American loyalist; and unless the appointment of Colonial Agent to the Bahama Islands be considered an employment under the Crown, for which he was to be allowed the sum of £100 per year. His clerk goes on to say that Anthony Stokes appeared to have "on all occasions a great aversion to take an oath", and that he was much affected on seeing the form of oath administered by the Commissioners of American Claims to all loyalists about to be put on the pension list.

In the impoverished condition of Stokes, the arrival of the following note from the Receiver General of the Bahamas, dated 19 July, 1788, was a bitter disappointment to him: "I received your favour by Mr. Hood, and am very sorry to acquaint you that the Treasury is in so bad a situation that I cannot give you encouragement to expect your salary soon". The arrears of salary and other charges of Anthony Stokes, as the agent of the Bahamas in London, had amounted to £213 18*s.* 7*d.* from the date of his appointment, 1 October, 1785, to 1 January, 1788.[1] This Colonial Agency he offered to resign forthwith

[1] Public Record Office: A.O. 13/83; A.O. 13/85.

if the Commissioners regarded it as an obstacle to his receipt of an increased allowance, as he would be sorry to give up a substance here for a shadow abroad.

Anthony Stokes claimed £1,200 for the loss of his annual income from his public offices in Georgia, and was allowed £1,000.[1] He died 27 March, 1819.

Another Welsh loyalist worthy of mention was Hopkin Price of Charleston, South Carolina.

In the claim in behalf of the estate, made by his executor, Robert Williams, counsellor at law, it is stated that Hopkin Price died on 14 December 1781, presumably at Charleston, leaving by his will legacies to his relations in Wales. This will, however, cannot be found at Charleston or at Somerset House, and therefore the names and places of residence of these relations cannot be traced. His real property in South Carolina is said to have been confiscated because of his "loyalty to the King and attachment to the British Constitution". The personal estate was sold by Robert Williams and the proceeds applied to the discharge of debts. The claim of £4,600 was disallowed by the Commissioners of American Claims, on the ground that insufficient proof had been adduced of the loyalty of Hopkin Price. Here it may be observed that all the American loyalists who made claims for loss of property, or applied for allowances or pensions, were required to produce evidences of loyalty, by certificate or by the personal testimony of men of unquestioned loyalty. In this case the death of the claimant was a serious obstacle to the executor in obtaining the necessary proof of his loyal principles.

The name of Robert Williams suggests that he, too, was of Welsh blood; but the present writer in his search among the documents[2] has failed to trace any evidence of

[1] Public Record Office: A.O. 12/109, fos. 85, 251.

[2] Public Record Office: A.O. 12/48, fo. 12; A.O. 12/109; A.O. 13/133.

the original nationality of his family. At Charleston his eminence as a lawyer attracted the attention of the leaders of the Whig party, who failed, however, to wean him from his political faith, by offering him, among other inducements, the dignified position of a judge. Robert Williams claimed for his losses by the war the large sum of £22,692, but was allowed only £1,705. His further claim of £1,050 for the loss of his professional income per annum was met by an allowance of £800, while the British Government also gave him a pension of £360. The wife and family of ten children of this loyalist would seem to have remained at Charleston after the evacuation of South Carolina by the British forces.

John Jones, the third Welsh loyalist, was born in Wales at a place not revealed in the documents. He started life as a common soldier, and by promotion became sergeant in the 44th Foot in 1755, when it was ordered out to America. After the peace with the French in 1763 he got his discharge from the army, and he would appear to have contemplated following the example of many British officers and men, participants in that war, and settle down on bounty lands in the Province of New York. In 1764, however, his abilities and general good conduct were recognized as deserving of further promotion, and he was appointed by General Gage to the lucrative position of barrack-master at Fort George on Lake George, New York, with pay of 4*s*. a day with a house. Here he remained in comfort and ease, in possession of a good orchard, land, barns, and a saw mill until the Revolutionary War, when Fort George was captured by the Americans. In addition, he was the owner of a house in the town of Albany, which he had bought in 1776 from one Jacob Lanson for £300 in New York currency, equal to about £200 sterling.

Among his services during the war was that of conveying intelligence, with the help of other loyalists, to the British army in Canada of the proposed expedition of

the Americans into Canada in 1775. By some means, undisclosed in his petition, he was discovered as the sender and was captured and confined by the enemy to Fort Edward. He succeeded, however, in escaping and in joining the advanced part of General Burgoyne's army at Skenesborough, now Whitehall. In his memorial, John Jones states that he was "soon after employed by General Burgoyne to Quebec, Ticonderoga and Fort George", without, however stating exactly the nature of this duty. On 1 August 1777, his merits were rewarded by his appointment as barrack-master at Ticonderoga—the rampart against invasion from Canada and regarded as the stronghold of the north—which had been unexpectedly and suddenly evacuated, with its immense supplies of war material, by the American General, St. Clair, to the surprise of America and England. He was afterwards employed in obtaining stores for the army in Canada, where he remained on hearing of Burgoyne's defeat at Saratoga. The confidence of the army in John Jones was further recognized by his appointment, in 1786, as barrack-master at William Henry, now known as Sorel, in Canada, where he was living in 1788 and where it is presumed he remained until his death.

His losses amounted to over £4,000 sterling and included four farms of 1,500 acres, with four dwelling houses, good farming stock, two boats and a large barge, and £500 worth of wine, rum, brandy and other liquors, which he had buried at Fort George, and which were discovered and seized by the Americans. Part of his claim of £4,187 10*s*. was waived, the property having been disposed of in part by permission of the Americans. The amount awarded to him by the Commissioners of American Claims was £323, and £70 per annum for the loss of his official income as barrack-master at Fort George, until his appointment to the same position at Sorel.[1]

[1] *Second Report of the Bureau of Archives, Province of Ontario*, 1904, pp, 380-381; Public Record Office: A.O. 12/26, fos. 181-186; A.O. 12/109.

David Propert, a loyalist from Boston, Massachusetts, had been an emigrant from South Wales. He had achieved considerable success as a musician at Boston until the war ended his career there. According to his evidence before the Commissioners on 17 January 1783, he estimated his annual income from his profession at £300, inclusive of his salary of £40 as organist of Trinity Church. From his income as a musician he saved sufficient money, according to his petition, to acquire substantial real property in the town of Boston, consisting of two pieces of land in Beach Street, two warehouses and land in King Street, and a messuage in Back Street. All this property was adjudged forfeit in 1781 by reason of David Propert's loyalty. In cross-examination, however, by the Commissioners, this Welsh musician stated that he was not in actual possession of any landed property, but that he had personalty, consisting of bonds, doubtless on the above estate, to the amount of £1,500 sterling. A fellow-exile, Robert Hallowell, the former comptroller of the customs at Boston, in supporting the claim, stated that Propert had "considerable property", whether personal or real is not disclosed in the minutes of the evidence.

David Propert's musical career at the chief city in New England began with his appointment as organist to Trinity Church on 9 December 1770, when John Rowe, a conspicuous Boston merchant, was churchwarden and one of his patrons. In this worthy merchant's diary, published as the "Letters and Diary of John Rowe",[1] some references to Propert's concerts are made. For example, on 15 March 1771, the diarist writes ". . . . when I came home I found Mr. J. Lane[2] and Mr. Propert who supped and diverted us all the evening by playing on Sucky's Spinnet[3] and Joyned by Mr. J. Lane in singing—

[1] Edited by E. L. Pierce, 1895.

[2] Probably John Lane, partner in the firm of Lane, Son and Fraser, of London, agents and exporters in the American trade.

[3] Sucky was Susannah Inman, niece of John Rowe's wife, Hannah. She married Captain John Linzee, R.N., in 1772.

Propert is a fine hand". Two other references, under date of 3 February 1773, are of interest: "I went to the Concert at the Coffee House[1] of Mr. Propert's—very fine Musick and good Performers"; and 17 February 1773: "Spent the Evening at the Coffee House with a great number of Gentlemen and Ladies being Mr. Propert's concert".

References are made to the musical life of David Propert at Boston in O. G. Sonneck's *Early Concert Life in America (1731-1800)*, where he is mentioned as performing some select pieces on the fortepiano and guitar, at a concert in March 1771.[2]

Propert took no part as a combatant in the war, for he fled from Boston on the outbreak of hostilities, leaving four spinets in the custody of friends. From Boston he returned home to Swansea, and was again welcomed to his former position of organist at St. Mary's parish church—a position which he filled from September 1776 until his death or retirement on 25 March 1784, when he was succeeded by S. Dyer. In 1783 he was a single man, whether a bachelor or a widower is not stated in the documents, and was earning £50 a year by teaching music, as well as receiving £16 a year from Lane, Son and Fraser, and a government pension as an American loyalist of £20.[3] David Propert's name is not to be found in the register of deaths of St. Marys's.[4]

The history in America of the next Welsh loyalist, Thomas Hughes, begins with his emigration, in 1765, to New York, where he became prosperous as a storekeeper and a retailer of liquors in Morecoil Street. By dint of energy and thrift he saved sufficient money to buy two houses in New York, and in 1770 he was the purchaser of

[1] British Coffee House in King Street, Boston.

[2] The writer is indebted for this note to Mr. Charles Knowles Bolton, of Boston.

[3] Public Record Office: A.O. 12/99, fo. 327; The Royal Commission on Loyalists' Claims: The Roxburghe Club, 1915, p. 322.

[4] Note contributed by Mr. F. Pale Wood, churchwarden.

a farm on Barbados Neck in Bergen county, New Jersey, for £500 sterling, from his father-in-law, Gustavus Kingsland, who remained in possession of this farm after the war. His appointed duties during the war included the purchase of horses, wood, hay, and other supplies for the British army. But the episode, of which he spoke with pride, was on the occasion when he conducted a party of British troops to two barns at Toppan in Orange county, New York, where they surprised "Lady Washington's Light Horse", and killed or wounded all except three.

The pension granted to Thomas Hughes and his wife and five children was £20.

John Lewis, a New York loyalist, and perhaps a fellow-countryman, was present at the purchase of the above farm.[1]

Owen Richards emigrated from Wales to America in or about 1750 and settled at Boston. He was named in the Banishment Act of the State of Massachusetts, passed in September 1778, "to prevent the return to this state of certain persons therein named, and others who have left this state or either of the United States, and joined the enemies thereof".

Shortly after his arrival in England he settled in Rotherhithe, with his family of four small children, and earned a living by plying a boat on the Thames.

His memorials are here printed:

[2] "(i) That He has the most Gratefull sence of, and desires to return his sincere thanks to your Lordships for the relief granted him on his Petition in January last and as he is in hopes, that his poor Wife and Family[3] is got away from Boston to Halifax, he is

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[1] Public Record Office: A.O. 12/21, fos. 325-327; A.O. 12/85, fos. 5-10; A.O. 12/109, fo. 165: A.O. 13/64; A.O. 13/144.

[2] Public Record Office: A.O. 13/75.

[3] Mrs. Richards was one of the inhabitants who in March, 1776, when Boston was evacuated by the British Army, accompanied the Army to Halifax, Nova Scotia. The complete list of names is published in the *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Hist. Soc.*, Vol. 18, p. 266.

desirous of going thither to their Assistance, And humbly requests that your Lordships would give him leave of Absence and Order the Stipend of £30 per Annum allowed your Petitioner to be paid his Attorney—and in Duty bound will ever Pray

"OWEN RICHARDS.

"March, 1778".

"(ii) That your Petitioner has been in the Service of his Majesty by Sea and Land near Thirty Years, the greatest part of that Time in his Majestys Customs at Boston, in the Year 1770 when Thomas Hutchinson Esq. was Governor. Your petitioner made a Seizure of a Scooner and Cargo of Foreign Sugars &c. Illegally Imported, and with an Intent to defraud his Majesty of his Revenue, This act of Duty of your Petitioner so Incensed the Disaffected Inhabitants of Boston against Him, that the same Night, they Collected a Tumultuous Mob of near 2000 and came to your Petitioners House. Broke his Windows, and distroyed his Furniture; they then Draged him by the heels along the Streets to the Custom House, then tore all his Cloaths off his Body to his nakedness, and then rolled him in the Channel Then put him into a Cart, Tarr'd and Feathered him, then set the Feathers on Fire on his Back, and fixed a Rope round his Neck, In this Possition they Exposed him round the Town for seven Hours untill he was just expiring.

"Your Petitioner through these sufferings of savage treatment lay many Months Sick, and at a great Expence, and in great Doubt whether he could Survive it, To verify the truth of your Petitioners Sufferings and Loyalty to his Majesty he humbly appeals to Governor Hutchinson and other Gentlemen, Your Petitioner is now near Sixty Years of Age—he has a helpless Wife and four Children, his Interest (which was some hundreds of Pounds Value, that he had Industriously Obtained and through Oeconomy had saved, He was obliged to leave behind him in Boston and it is now Destroyed by the Rebelious Inhabitants there,

"Your Petitioner has never received from Government any recompence or Rewards for his Sufferings, nor for the Loss of all the Interest had in Boston

"Therefore Your Petitioner most Humbly Implores your Lordships, that your Lordships would be pleased to take your Petitioners Age, Distressed State, and Faithful Service into Consideration and Order him such Relief, as you in Your Goodness shall see Meet to do.

"And Your Petitioner as in Duty bound shall Ever pray

"OWEN RICHARDS.

"This Petition was recommended, by Gover^{r} Hutchinson
"Peter Oliver, Chief Judge of the Province
"Tho^{s} Flucker, Secretary D^{o}
"Harrison Grey,[1] Treasurer
"Robert Auchmoody,[2] Judge of the Admiralty
"Jon'a Sewel,[3]—D^{o} of Nova Scotia
} Esq^{rs}".

With this memorial are the following copies of Certificates:—

"at the request of the Petitioner Owen Richards I certify that he was an Inhabitant of the Massachuset Bay and Officer and of the Customs when I was Governer there, and that I remember the great Abuse by the Mob, to which he Refers, and I then understood and Believed that it was Occasioned by a regular discharge of his Duty in the Execution of his Office,

"Sig^{d} Th^{o} Hutchinson.

"Sackville Street Nov^{r} 5th 1777.

"I can Certify that it appeared on a Trial had in the supreme Court of Judicature that the fact above Related with Respect to his Sufferings is not at all Exaggerated.

"Sig^{d} Peter Oliver.

"The Facts related by the Petitioner I believe to be true and that his Sufferings were Occasioned by a regular Discharge of his Office, Sign^{d} Harrison Gray.

"I Certify the Like. Sig^{d} Tho^{s} Flucker.

"I Believe the within Facts to be truly Stated—

"Sig^{d} Robert Auchmuty".

Endorsed:—

"Read 22 Dec^{r} 1777, let him be p^{d} his Sal^{y} as Tides^{n} out of Custom 20 and 30 per ann.

"The Coppey of | His Formor | Pettistion".

"(iii) That your Memorialist is now sixty five Years of Age, and has been Employed in his Majesty's Service thirty eight Years, and has been a Tidesman in the port of Boston, more than twenty Years, That in year 1770 your Memorialist suffered very great abuse, and Inhuman treatment from the Mob in Boston for His regular discharge of Duty and for his Loyalty and Attachment to His Majestys Government, That in the Year 1775, during the Seige of Boston Your Memorialist was Imploy'd on Several Occasions, on his Majesty Service, and that his Salary as a Tidesman was 25 pounds per Annum, and Eighteen pence per day when on Duty which together

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[1] Harrison Gray. [2] Robert Auchmuty. [3] Jonathan Sewall.

[4] Public Record Office: A.O. 13/75.

was 45 pounds per Annum, That in March 1776 when the British Troops under the Command of Gen[l] Sir William How left Boston and came to Halifax in Nova Scotia. Your Memorialist embraced that Opportunity to come away with a number of the Loyal Inhabitants, under the protection of his Majestys Troops and Navy, Your Memorialist from a Steady attachment to, and Long Services under the Brittish Govermment, Left Halifax and came to England, and Applied to the R[t] Hon[ble] the Lords Commissioners of His Majestys Treasury for Relief, That in January 1778. their Lordships was was pleased to Order your Memorialist Twenty Pounds, and thirty Pounds per Annum, for further particulars beg reference may be had to the petition and Certificates herewith Exhibited, That the property of your Memorialist is Confisticated and Lost which was in Value as per Estimate on the other side of this Memorial, Your Memorialist therefore prays that his case may be taken into your Consideration, in order that your Memorialist may be enabled, under your Report to Receive such, aid or Relief, as his losses may be found to Deserve.

"And your Memorialist will ever Pray

"Owen Richards".

This memorial is endorsed:—

"to Be heard of at the Torbay Elephant Staiers

"Rotherhith in Sury".

"At the Request of the Memorialist Owen Richards, I hereby Certify, that I knew him many Years a peaceable Loyal Subject in America, and that for his Integrity as an Officer of the Customs of the Port of Boston he was esteemed by his Superiors in Office, and I have every reason to believe, that the Illtreatment and Suffering he met with by the Hands of the Populace was Occasioned by the Faithful discharge of his Duty as a Custom House Officer, and I also realy believe what he sets forth respecting his property in America to be Just I know he had a House in Boston—

"Charles Street N[o] 7 Benj Hallowell—

"22[d] October 1783— One of the Commissioners

"of His Majestys Customs

"for America—

"Estimate.

"A Dwelling House and Land, as per Title Deeds ..	£256	18	0
"Household Furniture, Plate &c.	30	0	0
"The Estate of William Prince Deceased p[r] Acc[t] annexed	70	14	0
"To which Add one Years Salary from his Majestys Customs	25	0	0
"Eighteen pence per Day when on Duty	20	0	0
	"£402	12	0

"Your memorialist at Presant cannot Bring beter Proof to the above account of his Losses then his title Deeds and the accounts here with Exhibited".[1]

A printed affidavit, such as was sent to most of the loyalists, that Owen Richards was not the holder of any place or employment of profit or emolument, ecclesiastical, civil or military, under the Crown, or in receipt of half-pay or allowance for military services in America, except the temporary support of £30 allowed by the Lords of the Treasury, was sworn by him, 30 August, 1788.[2]

Owen Richards claimed £286 18*s*. for loss of property and was allowed £120. He also claimed £45 for loss of annual income from his post as Customs Officer and was granted £40. From 1782 to 1784 he received a yearly allowance of £50 from the Treasury. This was reduced to £30 in 1784, and a further reduction to £10 was made until the year 1800,[3] when he probably died.

Lieut. John Hybart in his evidence and memorial, dated 6 March 1784, declared that he was a native of Wales, and left these shores for South Carolina in 1771 at the early age of twelve. There he became provincial deputy-surveyor to Elias Durnford. In 1776 he removed to West Florida to escape compulsory service under the Americans, and shortly afterwards, while yet a youth of 17 or 18, received a warrant to raise men for the King's Florida Rangers, raised and commanded by Lieut.-Colonel Thomas Brown, a redoubtable loyalist. This young Welshman succeeded in recruiting forty-one men and received a commission as ensign, and later as lieutenant

[1] Public Record Office: A.O. 13/48.

[2] *Ibid.*: A.O. 13/83.

[3] *Ibid*: A.O. 459/7; A.O. 461/16; T. 50/6; T. 50/8; A.O. 12/109, fo. 256; A O. 12/105, fo. 43.

Second Report, Bureau of Archives, Province of Ontario, 1904, p. 1160.

The Royal Comm. on Loyalists Claims: Roxburghe Club, 1915, p. 80.

in that loyalist corps, which was subsequently merged into the King's Carolina Rangers. At the siege of Augusta in September 1780, when that place fell to the Americans, Lieut. Hybart was so severely wounded that he was incapacitated from further participation in the war. His total claim amounted to £708, and included the following tracts of uncultivated land in South Carolina:

150 acres in Orangeburg township	£78	15	0
500 acres in Colleton county ...	£525	0	0
250 acres on Tom's Creek, a branch of the Congaree river, about two miles from Friday's ferry ...	£56	5	0

With Lieut. Hybart's claim are copies of affidavits sworn before John Mills and David Scott at St. Augustine in East Florida in 1783 that he was lawfully possessed of the above property. The title deeds having been lost in the course of the disturbances, the claim was rejected. From February 1783, one year's pay (£85 3*s.* 4*d.*) was paid from H.M. bounty for the loss of his arm.[1]

In an undated petition to the Commissioners of American Claims, Lieut. Hybart appeals for a "place in the revenue, near the sea, in any part of the West of England[2] that thereby he might be able to support his little family comfortably, for which he would willingly relinquish his half-pay". Whether he succeeded in obtaining a revenue appointment is not divulged in the documents. His half-pay, however, ceased in 1816.[3]

[1] On 18 September 1782, a certificate was signed at Charleston by John Allen, surgeon of the Carolina King's Rangers, by Daniel Bancroft, surgeon of the 3rd Batt. New Jersey Volunteers, and by Major James Wright (of the Georgia Rangers until that corps was amalgamated with the King's Carolina Rangers in June 1782), that Lieut. John Hybart had lost the use of his left arm at Augusta (*Hist. MSS. Comm. Report on the American MSS. in Royal Inst.*, vol. iii, p. 124).

[2] ? The West of Wales or South Wales.

[3] Public Record Office: W.O.: Ind. 5604, 5605, 5606.

[4] Public Record Office: A.O. 12/101, fo. 61; A.O. 12/109, fo. 168; A.O. 13/129.

English official documents in the eighteenth, and well into the nineteenth, century, frequently ignored the racial and geographical distinctions between England and Wales. Thus the nationality of Lieut. John Hybart is stated in the half-pay lists as English, whereas in his written memorial and in his oral evidence he declares himself to be Welsh.

The name of Susannah Marshall has no suggestion of Welsh origin. When summoned before the Commissioners in London she stated, however, that she was a native of Wales and had married an Irishman, one William Marshall. She related the story of their emigration to the new world, taking with them their little fortune of £500 in money and cargo, and accompanied by their two children, and gave a vivid picture of her exciting experiences at Baltimore, in Maryland, where they had settled.

Susannah Marshall was a determined enterprising woman and opened a boarding house and liquor retailing store in that city. Hardly had her enterprise met its just reward than the clash of arms was resounding in Maryland, and William Marshall was in May 1775 called upon by the revolutionary party to take up arms "in defence of the country"; but the call was met by this loyal Irishman with a blank negative, coupled with a refusal to sign an association in violation of his allegiance to his rightful sovereign. His loyalty rendering him obnoxious, he was obliged to quit his home at Baltimore, leaving his wife and children to the mercy of the times. Like so many other harried loyalists from the Southern Colonies in the early days of the rebellion, he determined to seek a temporary asylum in the British West Indies until the storm should blow over and he could return to his wife and family. But William Marshall never again cast eyes on the American shore, for he died in the island of Dominica, sometime before its seizure by the French in 1778. Meanwhile his wife, ignorant of his death, was "maliciously compelled", as she describes it, to billet a number of

American soldiers in her house from time to time until 1776, when in desperation she declared her intention "to embrace Lord Dunmore's proclamation", and refused any longer to have any more soldiers quartered in her house. Such an unexpected refusal could not be tolerated from a woman, and an attempt was made, according to her evidence, to "tar and feather" her. Tarring and feathering was a popular form of punishment meted out on both sides during the revolutionary war. Owen Richards, it will be remembered, was one of the victims.

This good woman's determination and enterprise, combined with her unwavering loyality, in spite of a long succession of threats, are further confirmed by her chartering of a schooner on 8 August 1776 for the purpose of conveying her and her children to a spot on the Maryland coast in search of the protection promised to the loyalists by Lord Dunmore, then Governor of Virginia. Failing to reach the appointed spot in time, Susannah Marshall ordered the schooner to make for the Head of Elk, where she resolved to settle, and where she either bought or rented the Elk tavern and country ferry from one Thomas Bailey, a master mariner and loyalist. Her occupation of this home was destined to be of brief duration, for, alarmed by the spread of the rebellion and anxious for her own safety, she decided in March 1777 to sell off her personal property and to take advantage of a "proclamation of Congress stating that all who were desirous of quitting the province might do so, without taking any goods except country produce". Chartering a schooner, she took on board eighty-one barrels of flour, two hogsheads of venison and hams, and a quantity of bacon and bread, intending to join her husband in the West Indies, ignorant, as has been already observed, of his death. Her troubles were not yet at an end, for she was obliged by the Americans to clear out for Hispaniola in the West Indies, and to get a bondsman for £2,000 as security that she was not taking the cargo of

foodstuffs to an English port. Another glimpse of her steadfast loyalty is afforded by her allowing three deserters from the Americans to take shelter on her vessel. The escape of these men had, however, been reported on shore, and a vessel was forthwith despatched in pursuit of Susannah Marshall's schooner, which was shortly afterwards captured. Luckily, the schooner was retaken by a British armed boat and was sent by the commander, James Wallace,[1] to St. Augustine in East Florida, where the vessel and cargo were condemned in the Admiralty court and the cargo sold for £1,070 13*s.* for the use of the starving garrison and population. The capable governor of that province, Patrick Tonyn, gave Susannah Marshall a certificate, in order that she might recover compensation and a passage for herself and children to England by the *Hawke* transport. Arriving in England in an enfeebled and destitute condition, she was allowed by the Treasury £20 per annum, and appealed later for an increase in this allowance because of ill-health and because of her timely, if accidental, supply of food for the relief of St. Augustine. William Lloyd, a loyalist witness before the Commissioners, declared on oath that William and Susannah Marshall were regarded as people of property, that Mrs. Marshall was worth £700 or £800 at Baltimore, and that her house there was "very genteely furnished".[2]

Lorenzo Sabine[3] is the authority for the statement that Richard Bonsall, a Welshman, was a loyalist, and that before emigrating to New York he had commenced the study of medicine, but had abandoned the pursuit of that profession in America. His name is not included in the list of claimants for confiscated property. Sabine states that Richard Bonsall married a lady named Smith, of Long Island, New York, and that in 1783 he accom-

[1] Afterwards Admiral Sir James Wallace. (*Dict. of Nat. Biog.*)

[2] Public Record Office: A.O. 12/6, fos. 257-263; A.O. 12/99, fo. 244; A.O. 12/109; A.O. 13/46; A.O. 13/62. The *Royal Comm. on American Claims*: Roxburghe Club, 1915, p. 388.

[3] *Biographies of Loyalists.*

panied the loyalist refugees to St. John, New Brunswick, where he was a grantee of land, and where he died in 1814, aged 72. He is presumed to have been a kinsman of Sir Thomas Bonsall, sheriff of Cardiganshire, knighted in 1795.

The tenth Welsh loyalist was Lieut.-Colonel Propert Howorth. In his memorial he states that he first went out to the American colonies as a cadet in General Oglethorpe's[1] regiment of Foot to Georgia in 1737 or 1738. On 7 November, 1741, he received a commission as ensign in that regiment, and in March 1744 was promoted lieutenant. In 1749 this regiment was disbanded, and three independent companies detached and sent to South Carolina. Lieut. Propert Howorth's own company was afterwards ordered in 1754 to Virginia, and in the following year he was dangerously wounded in Braddock's defeat. Returning to South Carolina, he was appointed in August, 1757, by Governor Lyttelton (afterwards Baron Westcote and first Baron Lyttelton; Governor of South Carolina, 1755-62), Lieut.-Colonel of a regiment of foot and accompanied the Governor on an expedition against the Cherokee Indians in 1759. In February, 1760, he was appointed Commander of Fort Johnston,[2] near Charleston, at an annual salary of £200, which was augmented by certain fees, amounting to about £250 a year, from all merchant vessels entering Charleston harbour.

Colonel Howorth lived in ease and affluence at that charming city and prosperous centre of Southern colonial life. His military duties at Fort Johnston were not onerous and the ten men who occupied the fort were content in his absence to serve under the command of a non-commissioned officer, such as George Walker, who was subsequently banished as a loyalist from South Carolina.[3]

[1] General James Edward Oglethorpe, soldier, philanthropist and colonist. (*Dict. of Nat. Biog.*)

[2] Fort Johnston is shown on Crisp's Map of Charleston, about 1711.

[3] For a picturesque account of his trial by a mock jury at Charleston, see A.O. 12/46, fos. 53-61.

In order to protect his property in that province from confiscation, Colonel Howorth divested himself of it all in favour of his only daughter, who was married shortly after the year 1778 to Lieut. James Graham.[1]

Colonel Howorth was a refugee at Charleston in 1782.[2] He claimed £500 for the loss of his annual income in America and was allowed £450, receiving in addition a pension of £220, under the address of the House of Commons, 9 June, 1788.

In September, 1788, he was living at Hay in Breconshire, and a letter of that date to the Commissioners bears the HAY post-mark, and is sealed with his initials in a medallion, enclosed in palm branches, surrounded by the motto, *Credo Christi Cruce*, and surmounted by the crest: an arm holding a wreath enclosing a cross.[3]

Colonel Propert Howorth, in a letter[4] dated 5 November, 1796, from Hay to his brother, Captain John Howorth, R.N., says that he is very ill and very low and unable to say half what he would wish. He desired, therefore, to add in as few words as possible that he wished his niece, Frances Davies, to have everything that he was possessed of, after his death. One of the two administrators was George Boone Roupell, of the Middle Temple, a loyalist from South Carolina. Colonel Howorth's death occurred between the date of the above letter and 8 February, 1797.

Another Welsh loyalist was Henry Walkeys, who had gone out to New York as a gunsmith just before the outbreak of war. His record of war services begins officially in January, 1776, when he was employed to make arms for the British forces by William Tryon, then

[1] His signature is in the Public Record Office: T. 50/3, book 11, folio 24.

[2] Ensign in 1st (or Royal) Regiment of Foot from 14 May, 1773, until his promotion, 23 November, 1778, in 64th (or 2nd Staffordshire) Regiment of Foot, from which he retired in 1783.

[3] Public Record Office: A.O. 13/83 A.O. 13/85; A.O. 12/109, fos. 166-167; A.O. 13/129; A.O. 13/83; A.O. 459/7; A.O. 459/13.

[4] Somerset House (Exeter 90).

Governor of New York. In the following year he was transferred to the Royal Artillery as an armourer, and in 1781 he was appointed armourer to the garrison of the City of New York, a position which he held until the evacuation of that city by the British in 1783, when he returned to this country. Confident in a victory by the British, he bought in 1782 a house in Little Queen Street, New York, from James de Lancey, the loyalist, for £350, in local currency. This property had, however, been already confiscated by an act of the province, with other estates of de Lancey, and sold by the Americans.[1] Henry Walkeys then brought an action against de Lancey in the Court of King's Bench in London, for recovery of the money paid, but failed to secure a verdict in his favour. In the hope of obtaining compensation for his losses, he crossed the Atlantic again, this time to Halifax, Nova Scotia, where one of the Commissioners, Jeremy Pemberton, was sitting, in July, 1786, to investigate the claims of those loyalists who had sought an asylum in that colony; but the unhappy Welsh loyalist met with another disappointment, being allowed only £171 of his claim of £804 14*s.* for loss of property.[2] David Mathews, the last Mayor of New York under the Crown, and afterwards President and Commander-in-Chief of Cape Breton, testified at Halifax to the loyalty of Henry Walkeys.

William Price described himself in evidence as a native of Wales who emigrated to Charleston, in South Carolina, in or about the year 1746, and had a dry goods store at Charleston when war broke out. By industry and thrift he had saved about £1,000 sterling—a substantial sum in those days. Steadfast in his loyalty, this son of Wales refused on several occasions to abjure his king and to take the oath of allegiance to the Americans. In consequence of this refusal he was obliged to shift from place to place to escape the anger of the revolutionary party.

[1] *Second Report of the Bureau of Archives, Province of Ontario,* 1904, pp. 668-669.

[2] Public Record Office: A.O. 12/109.

From Charleston, William Price escaped to New York, which was then in possession of the British Army. Here he was ordered by Sir Guy Carleton, commander-in-chief, an allowance of £30 per quarter, "on account of his good character", and on the recommendation of "respectable people of Charleston", his fellow-refugees at New York. His loyalty was never in doubt, for among the written proofs, presented to the Commissioners of American Claims in London, was one from Colonel Nisbet Balfour, formerly of the 23rd Foot (Royal Welsh Fusiliers) and Commandant at Charleston during a part of the war.

In 1784 William Price was almost an imbecile, at the age of 70, and was granted an allowance of £24. His place of abode at that time is not mentioned in the documents in the Public Record Office.[1]

The Scotch husband of a Welsh woman, Mary Rice, of "a good Carmarthenshire family", as she describes herself in her memorial, was a loyalist, one Dr. John Hamilton. This worthy Scot emigrated to America shortly before the outburst of the revolutionary storm, taking £200 in money and a quantity of medicines, and settled as a physician and surgeon at Dover, in New York. As a loyal Scot he secured 150 recruits at his own expense for the King's American Regiment, a loyalist corps which was first raised in December 1776 by Colonel Edmund Fanning of North Carolina, who became Governor of Prince Edward Island in 1786. Dr. Hamilton, before embarking on his self-appointed task of recruiting, had suffered considerable maltreatment at the hands of the local revolutionists, and had been ordered to appear before the Supreme Court on a charge of being a traitor to America—a charge of which he was acquitted.

Some time later in the war he was engaged as a surgeon to H.M. ship *Hinchinbrook*, which was destroyed on the Mississippi in April 1778 by the Americans,[2] Dr.

[1] Public Record Office: A.O. 12/101, fo. 92; A.O. 13/133.

[2] *Hist. MSS. Comm. Report on the American MSS. in the Royal Inst.*, vol. i, pp. 221, 239, 244, 251.

Hamilton escaping injury. He was afterwards transferred to H.M. ship *Zebra*, which was lost in a storm off Tybee, 22 December, 1788. After these misfortunes he returned to England, but was not long idle, as the records show that after serving as surgeon on a frigate in the British Navy, he became, in February 1780, surgeon to H.M. ship *Centaur*, on which he died in July of the same year at Barbados, leaving his wife, Mary, with one son, Walter, aged 5 years.

Mary, his widow, would seem not to have accompanied her husband to America. Her claim of £1,000 for the loss of his property there was disallowed for the want of adequate proof of loss, being unable to produce the title deeds (which were probably in the possession of her husband), or proof of the confiscation and sale of the property.[2]

Although not strictly an American loyalist, the inclusion in this list of a Welshman, who suffered considerable pecuniary loss by the American War of Independence, may not be inappropriate. This was William Jones, a prominent shipowner of Swansea, who presented a large claim to the Commissioners for American Claims for the brig *Townsend* (David Thomas, master), which he had sent out to Falmouth (now known as Portland, Maine), laden with sundry goods, wares and merchandize for the purpose of establishing a store there. His factor and future partner, one William Horton, a Quaker, accompanied the cargo to Falmouth, and for eight months successfully carried on the business, so successfully that the brig was ordered to return home and bring another consignment. Hardly had the vessel brought this second cargo than the revolutionary disturbances broke out at Falmouth and a petition was, on or about 30 June 1775, sent round to all the inhabitants that "as the British ministry was making use of means to bring the Americans

[2] Public Record Office: A.O. 12/19, fos. 21-28; A.O. 12/109; A.O. 13/65; A.O. 13/114.

into abject slavery, the subscribers thereof did utterly detest such artifices and did thereby declare that they would with their lives and fortunes oppose such measures and also that whatever methods the American leaders or Congress should propose they would support to the utmost of their power". William Horton was required to sign this petition, being given overnight to reflect upon it. On the following day, deeming discretion the better part of valour, and conscious that a refusal to append his signature to this hateful petition would result in personal abuse, he signed it. But the loyal Quaker determined to escape from his unhappy position, and secretly got on board the Welsh brig in the dead of night and hid himself, intending to set sail before daybreak. The vessel was, however, seized by the revolutionists and a threat was made by the search party that unless all on board signified their intention to support the American cause, both they and the vessel would be destroyed. David Thomas, the master, anxious for the safety of all on board, including William Horton, prudently made a formal declaration of adhesion to that cause, distasteful as it was, and was permitted, with his crew, to remain in possession of the vessel. The Welsh mariner kept watch, and perceiving a chance in the darkness to escape, set sail for home, crossing the Atlantic without accident and reaching Swansea early in July 1775.

The inventory of the goods left behind in the store at Falmouth included such diverse things as pottery, knives, snuff-boxes, women's fur hats, brass inkstands, horn combs, Jews-harps, gloves, shoe buckles, ironmongery, etc.[1]

The borough records[2] of Swansea prove that William Jones was a considerable merchant there between 1770 and 1790. In 1775 his name is included in a list of

[1] Public Record Office: A.O. 13/74.

[2] Mr. D. Rhys Phillips, of Swansea, who is engaged in editing these records, has kindly sent this note, with the consent of the borough authorities.

principal magistrates, noblemen, gentlemen and merchants, who had coal estates in the neighbourhood of Swansea.

One extract from those records deserves mention here because of its allusion to the American war, namely:—

February 2, 1776. "The *Sally* brigantine calls at Swansea. This vessel belongs to Isaac Lascelles Winn, Esq., who purchased her at Boston in order to convey his family to England, she having been taken from the Americans by one of H.M. ships of war. We made inquiry touching the state of the Army &c. in America, but cannot learn any particulars which we think can be of service in communicating to your Honours".

The *Sally* also carried Lieut. Julian, of the 23rd Foot (Royal Welsh Fusiliers), bound for London with despatches for Government.

One of the most pathetic stories of the war is that of the wife of a loyalist, William Powell, described as a native of South Carolina, of Welsh descent. His home on the Ogeechee river in Georgia was attacked in his absence by a party of nine Americans, under the leadership of John Hampton of Salt Ketches, South Carolina. Sheltering in the house were some loyalists who had been sent by William Powell to acquaint his wife of his situation. One of these loyalists, John Jones by name, was shot dead by William Nichols, and Mrs. Powell was wounded and disabled by the same ball. Thomas Rice is named as a member of the attacking party. The Powell family consisted at this time of a beautiful girl, two handsome boys and a baby.[1]

There were other Welshmen or men of Welsh extraction on both sides of the great struggle in America, whose names have escaped remembrance. Several characteristically Welsh names are to be found in the loyalist lists, but these, like certain distinctively Scottish and Irish names, are included in the comprehensive title of natives

[1] Public Record Office: Treas. 1/622.

of Britain. One Welsh name of a loyalist is that of Hopkin Williams of Ninety-six district in South Carolina, who was a refugee at Charleston in 1782.[1] Flewelling, which like the "Fluellen" of Shakespeare, is a corruption of Llewelyn, is a name represented by a loyalist family in the province of New York. One member of this family was Thomas Flewelling, a yeoman, of Northcastle, who had no fewer than four sons in the well-known loyalist corps, the King's American Regiment, two of whom died on active service and one was killed in action. Thomas Flewelling himself settled, after the war, in Queen's County, New Brunswick.

Records of the services of two Welsh officers in the British army during the American Revolutionary War are extracted from official documents.

The first of these is Lieut.-General Sir John Vaughan,[2] son of the third Viscount Lisburne, who, after serving in the 10th Dragoons from 1746 to 1755 (when he was transferred to the 16th Dragoons), raised the Royal Welsh Volunteers,[3] known also as "Vaughan's Foot" and afterwards as the 94th Regiment, of which he was commissioned Lieut. Colonel Commandant, 12 January, 1760. In 1762 this regiment was disbanded and Vaughan was appointed Lieut. Colonel of the 46th Foot.

At the outbreak of the Revolutionary War in America, Colonel John Vaughan took out reinforcements and was granted the local rank of Major-General on 1 January, 1776. For his great victory and capture of Fort Montgomery on 6 October, 1777, he was mentioned in orders by General Sir Henry Clinton in the following words:—"Fort Montgomery is henceforth to be distinguished by the name of Fort Vaughan, in memory of the intrepidity and noble perseverance which Major-General Vaughan

[1] Public Record Office: Treas. 50/5.

[2] *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*

[3] An account of the Welsh Volunteers is in preparation by the present writer.

showed in the assault on it". The fort has, however, continued to be known in history as Fort Montgomery.

From 1780 to 1782, Lieut.-General Vaughan served in the West Indies and was in command of the military forces, while Admiral Rodney commanded the fleet, in the expedition to the Island of St. Eustatius, which surrendered on 3 February, 1781.[1] Both he and Rodney were afterwards accused of peculation at the capture of that Dutch island—the centre of American smuggling trade against the British Navigation Laws, and in the course of the war a source of supplies for the Americans. Vaughan, as member for Berwick, defended himself from his place in the House of Commons, and the motion for an enquiry into the alleged peculation was defeated.

Whether Vaughan's purchase of a large tract of land of 8,000 acres, in Albany County, New York, from the Indians, by deed dated 21 March, 1770, was a mere speculation, an investment, or an indication of his intention to settle down in the American Colonies, is not disclosed in his memorial to the Commissioners of American Claims. Many British officers and men, after the war against the French which ended in the conquest of Canada in 1763, received bounty lands in the Province of New York, while others married during or after the war, and subsequently settled there. The Revolutionary War saw some of these former British soldiers fighting on the side of the Americans, and others in defence of the Crown.

The second Welsh officer in the regular British Army who participated in the Revolutionary War was the Pembrokeshire-born Major John Lewis, who served throughout the war. His recorded military career appears to begin with his commission of 16 May, 1766, as Lieutenant in the 64th (or 2nd Staffordshire) Regiment of Foot, in

[1] Original Correspondence of George III. Public Record Office: H.O. 42/3.

[2] Public Record Office: A.O. 13/137.

which he was promoted Captain, 3 May, 1776, and later Major. He had doubtless been a cadet or ensign in the 64th or another regiment of the line previous to the date of his commission as lieutenant, for in a petition[1] of 26 April, 1787, he refers to his 25 years service in the British Army. Towards the end of the war, Major Lewis was appointed deputy Quartermaster-General. The petition just mentioned was dated from Grosvenor House to William Pitt, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, and prays for the appointment to the vacancy in the stewardship of the Castles of Pembroke and Haverfordwest and of the King's Manors in the county of Pembroke.

This is perhaps hardly the occasion for the inclusion of an account of the services of the Royal Welsh Fusiliers in the American War of Independence. It may, however, not be out of place to mention that a member of the regiment, one Sergeant F. Lamb, published in 1809 an "Original and Authentic Journal" of the war, and that the names of four American loyalists appear among the officers of the Royal Welsh Fusiliers after that war. Biographies of these officers will be included in a book by the present writer on Americans in the British Army.

The weary continuation of the war in America, the surrender of Burgoyne at Saratoga, and perhaps the knowledge that a treaty of alliance had been made by the Americans with the French in January, 1778, plunged London into a state of gloom and anxiety. Prophecies of invasion by the French were as frequent from 1778 until the Peace in 1783 as they were later, in the Napoleonic wars. The result was that volunteer companies[2] were raised throughout the land. In Wales nine independent

[1] Chatham papers in Public Record Office, Bundle 220.

[2] Several independent companies, amounting to something about a regiment in point of number, were raised in Wales (*Annual Register*, 1778, p. 86).

companies were organized in February, 1778, commanded by the following officers, with the rank of captain:—

Hugh Lord,	Viscount Fielding,
Rowland Edwards,	George Vaughan,
Alexander Campbell,	John Edwards,
George Adams,	Lord Herbert,

Thomas Lloyd.

The Welsh ports were free from blockades during the war. Milford was used for shipping stores for the British Army in America, as was Barry port. Swansea, as has been observed earlier, was not without importance as a port of export and entry.

Holywell can show the names of two inhabitants who had business or social relations with American loyalists. One was J. E. Mostyn, who in March, 1775, had some transactions with Gilbert Deblois, senior, a prosperous Boston merchant, and afterwards a refugee in England. The second was Captain Thomas Totty, who was a witness to the loyalty and material losses of Lieut. William Haswell, who had retired from the British Navy after the war against the French in America and married and settled in Massachusetts, only to be disturbed a few years later by the Revolutionary War, when he threw all his strength on the side of England.

There were not wanting, as is well known, strong advocates in England of the American cause. Among these were two divines,[1] one a Welsh bishop, the other a Welsh Nonconformist minister in London, both of whom were correspondents of Benjamin Franklin.

The former was Jonathan Shipley, bishop of St. Asaph from 1769 to 1788, and the other was Richard Price, who combined the gifts of a writer on morals, politics and economics with theology. The bishop was not at first whole-heartedly a supporter of the Americans. In an eloquent appeal for a reconciliation with the American

[1] Both are in the *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*

colonies, tinged with a melancholy suggestion of the inevitable decay and downfall of England, the bishop regarded those colonies "as the only great nursery of freemen left upon the face of the earth", adding that "we ought to cherish them as the immortal monuments of our public justice and wisdom, as the heirs of our better days, of our old arts and manners and our expiring national virtues".[1]

Price is remembered as the author of the pamphlet, "Observations on Civil Liberty and the Justice and Policy of the War with America", and as the recipient of an invitation from Congress in 1778 to assist in the financial administration of the insurgent States. Richard Price concluded his letter, declining this flattering invitation, with the prophetic words that he looked "to the United States as now the hope, and likely soon to become the refuge, of mankind".

[1] Force's *American Archives*, Series IV, Vol. ii, pp. 97-104.